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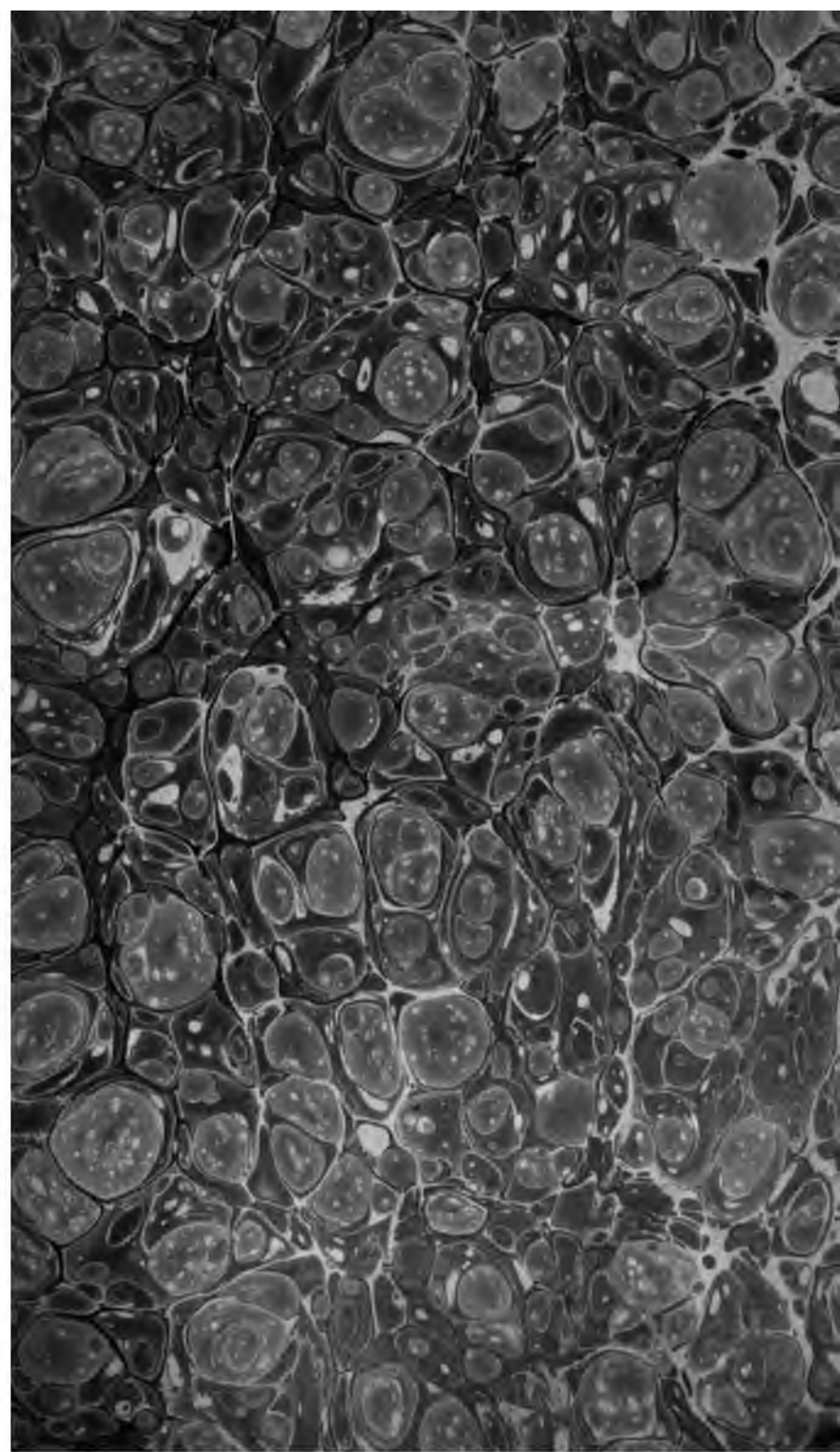
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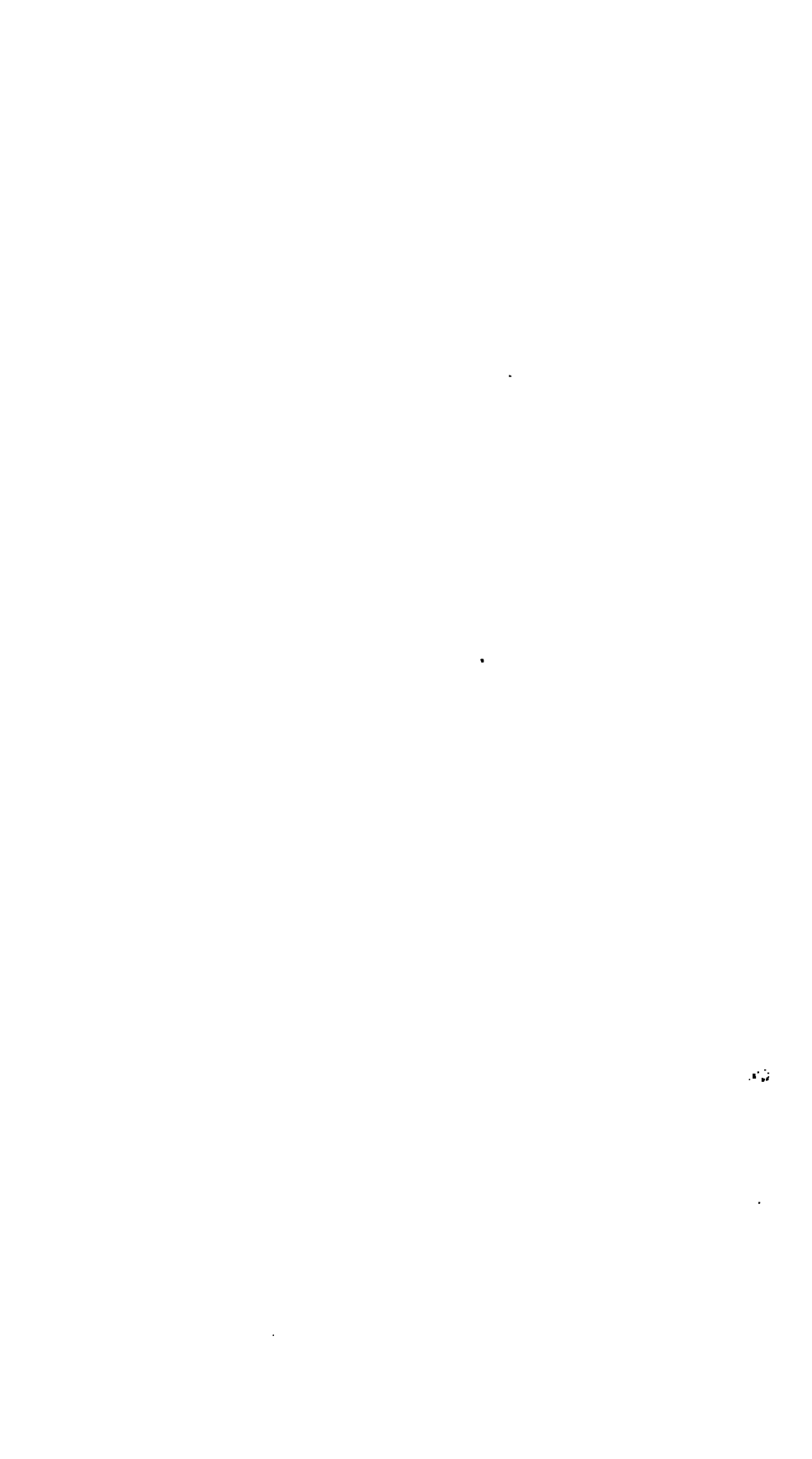












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**LIFE**  
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**ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL**  
**AND**  
**LITERARY HISTORY OF SCOTLAND,**  
**DURING THE**  
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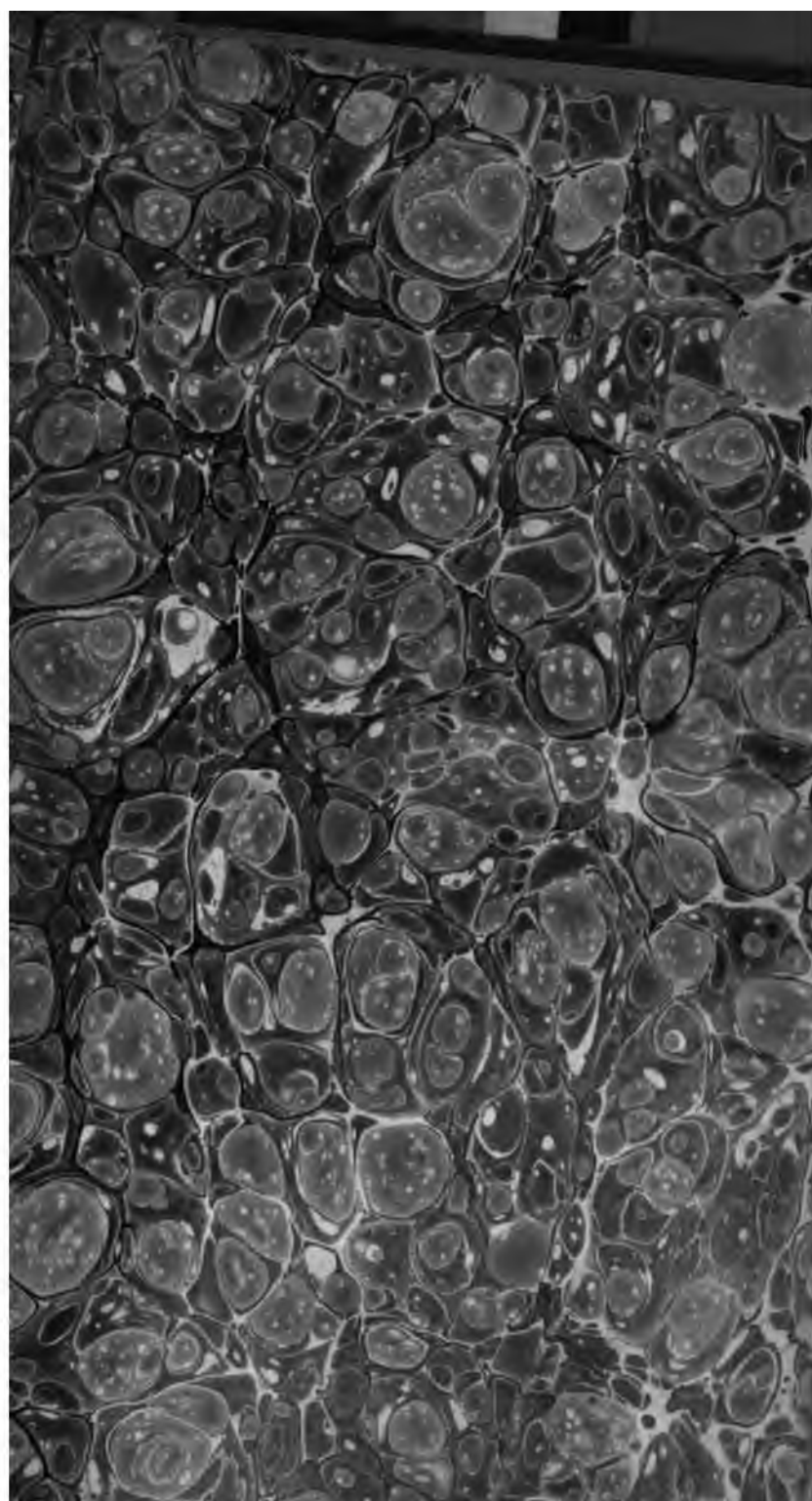




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The period which it embraces, though not distinguished by any event so splendid as the Reformation, is by no means destitute of interest. It produced men who, in point of natural abilities, were scarcely inferior, and in respect of acquired talents were decidedly superior, to those who had been instrumental in bringing about the great religious revolution. The dangers to which the reformed religion and the liberties of the nation were exposed during the early administration of a youthful prince—the contests which the church maintained with the court in behalf of her rights—the establishment



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James Melville, a nephew of the subject of this memoir, left behind him a *Diary*, or history of his own life and times, extending from 1555 to 1600, in which he has embodied much interesting information concerning his uncle. Several copies of this work are extant in manuscript. I quote the original copy, which is preserved in the Advocates Library, fairly written with the author's own hand. In the same library is another manuscript, entitled, *History of the Declining Age of the Church of Scotland*, which I am satisfied was also composed by James Melville, and brings down the history of

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The greater part of James Melville's Diary has been engrossed by Calderwood in his MS. History, and by Wodrow in his Lives. I have seldom, if ever, referred to the two last of these writers as authorities when it appeared to me that they merely quoted from the first. It may be proper to mention, that, in the first part of this Life, the references are to the copy of Calderwood's MS. belonging to the church of Scotland; but from page seventy-sixth of the second volume I refer to the copy in the Advocates Library, which it was more convenient for me to consult at the time.

The epistolary correspondence which passed between Melville and his nephew from 1608 to 1618, has been preserved in the Library of the College of Edinburgh. And in the Advocates Library is a series of letters written by Melville, to a friend at Leyden, from 1612 to 1616. Both these collections are of great value, as throwing light on his charac-

ter, and on some of the most interesting events of his life.

In giving an account of ecclesiastical transactions, I have, in addition to other sources of intelligence, availed myself of various registers of provincial synods, presbyteries, and kirk-sessions, which contain many facts curious in themselves, and illustrative of the internal history of the church. Several of these ancient records have been deposited in our public libraries; and I was allowed the readiest access to such of them as are in the possession of the courts to which they originally belonged.

My best acknowledgments are due to Thomas Thomson, Esq. for the facilities which he politely afforded me in consulting the public records; and to Sir William Hamilton, Bart. for pointing out to me various documents of great utility.

My inquiries relative to the state of education have in every instance been met with the utmost liberality by the Learned Bodies to which I applied. The account which I have given of the University of St. Andrews is chiefly taken from copies of papers and notes kindly furnished me by Dr. Lee, Professor of Church History and Divinity in the College of which Melville was formerly Principal. In ac-

knowledging the great obligations I am under to Dr. Lee, I cannot refrain from expressing my earnest wish that he would favour the public with a history of the literature of Scotland, or at least of the university to which he belongs, for either of which tasks he is eminently qualified by his extensive acquaintance with the subject, and his habits of patient and discriminating research. Could I have obtained assurance of his engaging in such a work, I would have felt little difficulty in resisting a temptation which has proved too powerful for me, and has led me into literary details, particularly in the first volume, which may appear but remotely connected with the immediate object of my undertaking.

To make room for more important matter, I have been obliged to omit one or two papers referred to in the course of the work as to be inserted in the Appendix. For the same reason several letters and unpublished poems of Melville, which I intended to add, have been kept back. Prefixed to the work is a plate, containing fac-similes of the handwriting of Melville, and some of the principal persons referred to in his Life.

EDINBURGH,  
*November 2, 1819.*

church ; the former in Arbroath \*, and the latter at Crail † : Robert and David, after being kept for some time at school, chose mechanical professions ‡.

Andrew, the youngest of the family, was born at Baldovy on the 1st of August, 1545. When only two years old he was bereaved of his father, who fell in the battle of Pinkie, along with the principal gentlemen of Angus and Mearns, fighting in the van-guard of the Scottish army, under their chief the Earl of Angus. The death of his mother, which followed soon after, left him an orphan §.

The disaster at Pinkie, with the events that followed upon it, proved ruinous to many families of rank and opulence. And as the estate of Baldovy was small, as the family was numerous, and several of the sons were yet unprovided for, the sudden and premature death of his parents threatened to

\* He was made Bachelor of Arts at St. Andrew's in the year 1555. (Records of the University.)—April 27, 1591, Thomas Ramsay in Kirkton bound himself "to pay to the richt worchipfull Mr. James Melvill, minister of Aberbrothock, 4 bolls beir wt. ane peck to the boll and twa bolls ait mail wt. the cheritie, guid and sufficient stuff—the mail to be for the s<sup>d</sup> Mr. James awin aeting, all guid and fyne as ony gentill man sall eat in the countrie adjacent about him—or failzeing deliverie to pay for every boll 4 lib. of money." (Register of Contracts of the Commissariat of St. Andrew's.) He was alive in March, 1596, when he obtained decret against John Richardson "for the few farne of the kirk lands of Aberbrothock, assigned to him by the Lords of Counsell; viz. 2 bolls wheat, 28 bolls bear, and 20 bolls ait meal."

† "Johanne Malwyll, minister of Crystis kirk in Crayll" is mentioned in the Register of the Kirk Session of St. Andrew's, October 8, 1561. Comp. Keith, Hist. p. 553.

‡ Melville's Diary, p. 27.

§ Ibid. pp. 26, 27.

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vidence has wisely secured the performance of duties which are equally necessary to the happiness of the individual and of the species. But, without wishing to detract from the amiable virtue of parental attachment, we may say, that the kind offices which it dictates, when performed by those who stand in a remoter degree of relationship, may be presumed to partake less of the character of selfishness. And they are calculated to excite in the generous breast of the cherished orphan, a feeling which may be viewed as purer, and more enthusiastic, than that which is merely filial—a feeling of a mixed kind, in which the affection borne to a parent is combined with the admiration and the gratitude due to a disinterested benefactor.

Perceiving that his youngest brother was of a weakly habit of body, and that he evinced at an early age a capacity and a taste for learning, Richard Melville resolved to gratify his inclinations, by giving him the best education that the country afforded. He accordingly placed him at the grammar school of Montrose, then taught by Thomas Anderson, who, at a subsequent period, became minister of that parish. Though his learning was slender, Anderson was esteemed one of the best teachers of his time; and under his tuition young Melville acquired the principles of the Latin language, in which he afterwards became so great a proficient\*. It was the

\* Melville's Diary, p. 27. Comp. p. 10.

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to the university, as was usual for young men of his age and progress, he put himself under the care of this learned Frenchman; and prosecuted the study of Greek during two years with great avidity\*. From Marsilliers he had also the opportunity of acquiring a more perfect acquaintance with the French language, the first principles of which were at that time commonly taught to young men along with Latin grammar†.

In the year 1559 he went to the university of St. Andrew's, and entered the college of St. Mary, or, as it was sometimes called, the New College‡. The writings of Aristotle were then the only text book, in all the sciences taught in our colleges; and the lectures given were properly comments on his several treatises of logic, rhetoric, ethics, and physics. But the professors were unacquainted with the original language of their oracle, and read and commented upon his works in a Latin translation. Melville, however, made use of the Greek text in his studies; a circumstance which excited astonishment in the university§. But it should be recorded to the

\* Melville's Diary, p. 27.

† Ibid. p. 5.

‡ See Note E.

§ "Our Regent (says James Melville) told me of my uncle Mr. Andrew Melville, whom he knew in the time of his course in the New College to use the Greek logicks of Aristotle, which was a wonder to them, that he was so fine a scholar, and of such expectation."—"All that was taught of Aristotle he learned and studied it out of the Greek text, which his masters understood not." Melville's Diary, pp. 18. 28.

*William Colless, or Collace, was James Melville's Regent. He was of St. Leonard's College, and was incorporated into the university at the same time with Andrew Melville.*

praise of his teachers, that, though they could not fail to be mortified under a sense of their own inferiority to their pupil, they indulged no mean jealousy of his superior acquirements; testified no desire to eclipse his reputation; threw no obstacles in the way of his advancement; but, on the contrary, loaded him with commendations, and did every thing in their power to encourage a youth, who, they fondly hoped, would prove a credit and an ornament to his country. When he first came to St. Andrew's, the admiration at his proficiency in learning was increased by his small stature and slender frame of body, which gave him a very boyish appearance. John Douglas, who was provost of St. Mary's college and rector of the university, distinguished him by marks of the kindest and most condescending approbation. He used to invite him to his chamber, take him between his knees, propose questions to him on the subject of his studies, and, delighted with his replies, to exclaim, "My silly, fatherless, and motherless boy, its ill to witt what God may make of thee yet \*!"

In the College of St. Mary, Melville had for his class-fellows, two persons of excellent talents; Thomas Maitland, the brother of the celebrated secretary of Queen Mary, and James Lawson, the colleague and successor of Knox, with whom he continued afterwards to maintain an intimate friendship. It does not appear who was the tutor, or re-

\* Melville's Diary, p. 28.

gent, as he was called, that carried them through their course of philosophy\*. A view of the state of education at St. Andrew's will be given in a subsequent part of this work. It may be sufficient at present to notice, that the means of instruction in St. Mary's were more ample than in either of the two other colleges. It had separate classes for grammar and rhetoric; and, besides, a teacher of law, to whose lectures the students of philosophy had access before they commenced masters of arts †.

Having finished the usual course of study, Melville left the University of St. Andrew's with the character of "the best philosopher, poet, and Grecian of any young master in the land ‡."

While Melville was engaged in his academical education, Buchanan returned to his native country. It is much to be regretted, that we have such scanty information respecting the manner in which that great scholar was employed from 1561 to 1567, when he became principal of St. Leonard's college. As it is, we are left to suppose that he spent the

\* Dempster mentions Alexander Ramsay as the preceptor of Melville. "Alexander Ramsayus vir doctissimus in patrio Sanctandreamo Gymnasio præclaram famam ab eruditione accepit, *Andree Melvini præceptor*. Scripsit Panegyricos Latinos: Castigationem Veterum Dionysii Halicarnassæi Interpretum Latinorum: *Notas in D. Paulini Opera*." (Hist. Eccles. Scot. lib. 16. p. 563.) I have not met with the name of Alexander Ramsay as a teacher at St. Andrew's; perhaps he taught at Paris while Melville was there.

† Fundatio et Erectio Novii Collegii, Anno 1553. Melville's Diary, p. 16.

‡ Melville's Diary, p. 28. See also Note E.

time in teaching the queen Latin, and in preparing his poems for the press. In a copy of verses addressed to him on his recovery from a dangerous illness, Melville calls him his *Master* \*. In the absence of all other information, we are not perhaps warranted to take this expression literally as implying that he had been under his tuition. But considering the zeal with which Buchanan patronized literature, and the affability with which he received young men of promising talents, it is highly probable that Melville was at this early period admitted to his society, and profited at least by his private instructions, during the visits which he appears to have paid to St. Andrew's †. The fame which his illustrious countryman had acquired, and the perusal of his poems, must have roused the youthful fancy

\* "Andreas Melvinus Geo. Buchanano Præceptoris suo & Musarum parenti." (Testimonia prefix. Oper. Buchananj, p. 21. Edit. Ruddim.) It may be remarked, that Sir Thomas Randolph, the well known ambassador from Elizabeth to Scotland, when he mentions Buchanan, uses the expression "my Master," both in letters to him and to others. (Buchanani Epistolæ, pp. 18, 19.) Ruddiman, in his Notes on Buchanan's Life, says, that Randolph was taught humanity by Buchanan,— "a Buchanano humanioribus literis eruditus." The writer of Randolph's Life in the Biographia Britannica (vol. v. p. 3490.) understands this as meaning that he had Buchanan for "his school-master," before he entered the university of Oxford. This is a mistake; and I have no doubt that Randolph studied under Buchanan in the University of Paris, when he fled from England into France to escape the persecution of Queen Mary. This was in 1563. (Biogr. Brit. ut supra. Wood's Athenæ Oxoniensis, by Bliss, vol. i. p. 567.) In the course of that year Buchanan taught at Paris, as a regent in the College of Boncourt. Irving's Memoirs of Buchanan, p. 90. 2d Edit.

† Epist. Dedic. in *Franciscanos*.



of Melville, and led him to devote himself to a species of composition in which he afterwards attained to great excellence. To this, however, his mind had been attracted at a still earlier period. His brother was an admirer of the Latin poetry of the Italians, who had recently cultivated the ancient language of their country with uncommon ardour and the most wonderful success. Palingenius, in particular, was a favourite with Richard Melville on account of the purity of his moral sentiments, as well as the elegant dress in which they were clothed; and he was wont to repeat passages from his *Zodiacus Vitæ* to the youth of his family, and to make them commit the poem to memory\*.

While Melville was yet at the university of St. Andrew's, his talents had attracted the notice of learned foreigners who visited Scotland. Among these was Petrus Bizzarus, a poet of Italy, who had left his native country from attachment to the reformed religion. After spending some time at the court of London, he came to Scotland, where he was honourably received by Queen Mary, and by the Earl of Murray, who had then the chief direction of the government†. Melville was introduced to Bizzari, who expressed his warm regard for him

\* Melville's Diary, p. 8.

† Bizzarus informs us that Mary presented him with a chain of gold, and he has addressed one of his treatises to that princess. (*Varia Opuscula*, f. 28, a.) In a poem inscribed "Ad Jacobum Stuardum Scotum," he celebrates the victory which that nobleman gained over the Earl of Huntly, in such terms as to warrant the conclusion, that he was then in Scotland. (*Ibid.* f. 93, a.) The battle of Corrichie, in which Huntly fell, was fought in October, 1562.

in a copy of verses inserted in a work which was soon after published \*. This was a flattering compliment to so young a man, especially as he was the only scholar in his native country who shared this honour with Buchanan.

Having acquired all the branches of learning which his native country afforded, Andrew Melville resolved to complete his education on the Continent. In autumn, 1564, being nineteen years of age, he set out for France, having previously obtained the consent of his brothers to the journey. His voyage

\* The following are the lines referred to :—

Ad Andream Melvinum Scotum.

Nvlla apis Hyblæis legit de floribus unquam,

Deq; vllis herbis dulcia mella magis ;

Dulcia vina magis nunquam de dulcibus vuis

Vlla dedit vitis quolibet axé poli :

Quàm mihi dulcis ades, dulci sermone, tuisq ;

Mellitit verbis, moribus, ingenio.

Sincerum pectus, fidei constantia vere,

Veraq ; sincera cum pietate, fides ;

Me tibi sic vinclo dudum obstrinxere tenaci,

Melvine, vt possit soluere nulla dies.

Nulla dies soluet, distantia nulla locorum,

Imminuet, firmum sed mihi semper erit.

Petri Bizzari *Varia Opuscula*, f. 109, b. Venetiis, 1565, 12mo.

For pointing out to me this rare book, and for other valuable notices, I am indebted to Dr. Irving, the learned biographer of Buchanan.—Some of Bizzari's poems were afterwards reprinted in *Delitiæ Poetarum Italarum*. The one just quoted is there inscribed "Ad Andream Meluinum," (tom. i. p. 437.) Bizzari is also the author of a history of the war in Hungary, from 1564 to 1568, written in Italian, and a history of Persia, in Latin. A letter from him to Lord Burleigh, written from the Turkish dominions, Aug. 18, 1575, is inserted in Murden's State Papers, p. 287.

was both tedious and dangerous. Through stress of weather he was obliged to land in England, and afterwards to go to Bourdeaux, from which he returned by sea to Dieppe. Having reached Paris, he immediately commenced his studies in the renowned university of that city.

We may in general form a correct estimate of the progress which a young man of talents and thirst for knowledge will make, from the state of education, and the character of the teachers, in the seminary which he attends. The university of Paris had long enjoyed a pre-eminent reputation among the great schools of Europe, founded on its antiquity, the number of its colleges, the extent of its revenues, and the venerated names which stood enrolled in its registers as professors and graduates. Attracted by these considerations, a multitude of young men from all the surrounding countries flocked to it annually, and were admitted citizens of one or other of the four nations into which that learned corporation was divided\*.

\* The four nations were those of France, Picardy, Normandy, and Germany or England, in which last Scotland and Ireland were included. In 1513, there were 90 Regents belonging to the nation of France alone. (*Bulæi Hist. Universitatis Parisiensis*, tom. vi. p. 59.) In the 12th century, the number of members of the university nearly equalled that of the citizens of Paris, and included students from every part of Christendom. (*Epist. Diogillensis ad Abælardum*, apud *Bulæi Hist.* tom. ii. p. 663.) About the beginning of the 16th century, there were 10,000 persons in it engaged in different branches of study. (*Pontanus de Obedientia*, lib. 5. cap. 6. apud *Gratiarum Act. pro Instaurata Parisiensi Academia*, p. 14. Paris. 1601.) Joseph Scaliger says, that, when he attended the university, (which was only

But whatever was its popular celebrity, the university of Paris was indebted for its real eminence to the *Royal Trilingual College*, founded in 1549 by Francis I. at the recommendation of Budæus. That great scholar \* had long lamented the inefficiency of the university for promoting the interests of literature, and despaired of introducing a tolerable reform into colleges founded in unenlightened times, and governed by laws and usages which were as deeply rooted in inveterate prejudice as they were irreconcilable to the principles of liberal science. The new institution was formed on the model of the Buslidian College at Louvain, which had been so zealously patronized by Erasmus †. It was the intention of Budæus to have had that distinguished scholar placed at its head; but he declined an honour which he foresaw would involve him in those troublesome and unsafe disputes from which it was his uniform object to escape. The *Royal Trilingual College* was originally intended, as its name imports, for teaching the three learned languages, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; although it was some time before a teacher of Latin was appointed, owing to the opposition made by the members of the university, which led Erasmus, in one of his letters, to call them *bilingual*

a few years before Melville entered it,) there were *thirty thousand* students. Des Maizeaux, Scaligerana, &c. tom. ii. p. 490.

\* "Nunquam erit in Gallia alter Budæus." Scaligerana Secunda.

† J. Frid. Burscher, Spicilegia Autogr. Epist. ad Erasmum, Spicileg. iv. p. 6, 7. Lips. 1602.

pedants. The friends of learning obtained from Francis I. and his successors, the endowment of additional classes in the new establishment; and when Melville came to Paris, there were royal professors in all the branches of science, except Civil Law and Divinity. Previous to the erection of the Royal College, there was no provision in the university for instructing young men in the learned languages; the professors, in the different faculties, occupied themselves in commenting on barbarous and monkish authors, and in the discussion of frivolous and intricate questions; the exercises of the students consisted of noisy and captious disputations; and degrees were conferred in a manner which would be reckoned disgraceful by those universities which are at present most lavish in the distribution of their nominal literary honours\*. But a change to the better might now be observed in every branch of education. The court had the right of presentation to the chairs in the new college, and as it was become fashionable for the kings of France to act as the patrons of learning, men of talents and erudition were usually appointed to fill them. In addition to the direct influence of their instructions, they contributed indirectly but powerfully to reform the university. They excited strong hostility indeed, but they at the same time produced emulation. They occasioned fierce

\* Bulei Hist. tom. vi. pp. ii. 915. Gratiarum Actio, ut supra, p. 14.

disputes by provoking the resentment of illiterate sophists and bigoted theologues, but they also broke the slumber which these literary drones had hitherto indulged in their cells, and roused them to exertions which otherwise they never would have made. The professors in the old colleges perceived that they were in danger of being eclipsed by their more learned and active rivals, and were reduced to the alternative of exerting themselves, and adopting the new improvements, if they did not wish to see their lessons contemned, their classes deserted, and their emoluments alarmingly reduced.

When Melville entered the university of Paris, it was in its most prosperous state. The late improvements had produced their salutary fruit, and they had not yet felt the blasting influence of the spirit of faction and fanaticism engendered by the infamous League, which, within a short time, destroyed the labours of many years, and reduced that flourishing seminary to its original barbarism\*. The nation was enjoying a respite during the interval between the first civil war which ended in 1563, and the second which broke out in 1567; and several of the professors, who, as well as the students, had been involved in the public confusions, had returned to Paris, and were restored to the charges which they had left, or from which they had been driven by the violence of the times†.

\* *Libellus Supplex ad August. Senatvm pro Arcademia Parisiensi*, p. 14. Paris, 1601. *Gratiarvm Actio pro Instaurata Parisiensi Academia*, pp. 15, 26—29. Paris, 1601.

† *Bulæi Hist. Univ. Paris. t. vi. pp. 550, 551. Bayle, Dict. art. Ramée.*

Among the professors whose lectures were attended by Melville, we find the names of those who held a distinguished rank in their several professions, and to whom letters and philosophy are under the greatest obligations. The Greek chair in the Royal College was still filled by Turnebus, who had formerly been the colleague of Buchanan in that university, and who united an elegant taste with the highest critical attainments. Melville had the happiness to attend the last course of lectures delivered by that learned man in the year in which he died\*. Mercerus and Quinquarboreus were conjunct royal Professors of Hebrew and Chaldee. By his oral instructions, the elementary treatises which he published, and his translations from Hebrew and Chaldee, the former contributed more than any individual of that age to the advancement of eastern learning. His commentaries on the Old Testament still deserve the attention of the biblical student; and Father Simon, whose judgment was sufficiently fastidious, has pronounced the highest eulogium on him, when he says, that Mercier possessed all the qualifications of an interpreter of Scripture, and that

\* He died prematurely in June 1665. (*Hist. Typographorum Paris.* pp. 47—78. *Balsus*, vi. 218.) It has been supposed that he was of Scots extraction, and that his proper name was Tournebeuf or Turnbull. Dempster says he was of the same family as William Turnbull, bishop of Glasgow. (*Hist. Eccl. Scot.* p. 623.) Another writer says, "Ex familia Turnbullorum in Lisdalia Scotiæ provincia oriundus." (*D. Buchananus de Script. Scot. MS. in Bibl. Coll. Edin.*) And again, in the Appendix, "Hadrianus Turnebus Scoto avo natus."

the only thing to be regretted in him is, that he suffered himself to be carried away by the novel opinions of the reformers \*. Cinq Arbres, though destitute of the critical acumen and extensive knowledge of his colleague, has shown that he was well acquainted with Hebrew grammar †. Under such able masters, Melville applied himself with great assiduity to the study of oriental languages, which he could not acquire in his native country.

We must not omit to mention here the celebrated Petrus Ramus, who excited so much notice by his bold and persevering attacks on the Aristotelian Philosophy, and became the founder of a new sect which made no inconsiderable progress in the schools of Europe. Whatever opinion may be entertained on the merits of his system of logic, or its tendency to advance real science, it does not admit of a doubt that a young man of talents must have derived the greatest benefit from a teacher of such

\* Simon, *Histoire Critique de V. Testament*, liv. iii. chap. 14. *Beze Icones*, Y. j. et Prefat. ejus in Merceri Comment. in Ecclesiasten. The first separate and formal treatise on Chaldaic grammar was "Tabula in Grammaticen linguæ Chaldaicæ, quæ et Syriacæ dicitur—Johanne Mercero Hebraicarum Literarum Professore Regio. Paris. 1560." &c. Beautifully printed at the royal press by William Morell.

† "De Re Grammatica Hebræorum Opus, in gratiam Studiosorum linguæ Sanctæ, methodo facillima conscriptum, Authore Johanne Quinquarboreo Aurillacensi, linguarum Hebræicæ et Caldaicæ Regio Professore. Tertia et Postrema editio. Parisiis apud Martinum Juvenem. 1556." Wolfius says that this work was printed at Paris in 1549. 1556. and 1592. *Bibl. Hebr.* tom. ii. p. 615. But it appears from the above title that there were two editions of it before 1556.



ardour and independence, if not originality of mind, and of so much eloquence, as Ramus possessed. The greatest men of that age were trained up under him \*; and several of those who, like Scaliger, have spoken disrespectfully of his merits, were indebted to him for that acuteness and classical taste which enabled them to detect the blunders which he committed, and into which he was betrayed by precipitation and a fondness for distinguishing himself in every department of knowledge. He was at this time Royal Professor of Roman Eloquence, as well as Principal of the College de Presle. Melville attended his lectures, and we shall afterwards have occasion to shew that he introduced the plan of teaching, and the mode of philosophizing, followed by his master, into the universities of Scotland †.

\* Nicolaus Nancelius, referring to his having taught in 1553 under Ramus in the college de Presle, says, in a letter to Buchanan, "*ubi Regii tum juvenes Stuarti vestrates discebant.*" (Buchanani Epistolæ, p. 35.) One of these was the Prior of St. Andrew's, afterwards the Regent Murray. It appears, from a Visitation of St. Leonard's college, that he was on the Continent in 1551; for a cause is delayed "*usque ad redditum [reditum] Dñi Commendatarii Prioratus S. Andrea—ex partibus transmarinis.*" (Papers of St. Leonard's College.) And a Commission by William, bishop of Aberdeen, is signed by the Prior, as a witness, at Paris, September 13, 1552. (Keith's Scottish Bishops, p. 74.)

† Melville's Diary, p. 33. Besides the lectures of these professors, he attended also those of Duretus, Paschasius, Forcatellus, Carpentarius, and Salignus. Louis Durat was the favourite physician of Charles IX. and Henry III. (Teissier, *Eloges*, t. ii. p. 320, 2d Edit.)—Paschasius Hamelius succeeded Orontius Fineus, the first royal Professor of Mathematics, and died in 1565. Bulaeus, vi. 651. 915.

While he listened to the instructions of the Royal Professors, Melville took his share in the usual academical exercises. And, during the second year of his abode in the university, he excited great admiration by the ease and fluency with which he declaimed in Greek\*.

Two circumstances relating to the university of Paris, during the time that Melville attended it, are deserving of notice. The first relates to the religious liberty that was enjoyed, and the rapid progress which the protestant opinions were consequently making in it. A number of the professors, including several heads of colleges, avowed their attachment to these, and others were strongly suspected of the same religious bias†. But a few

966.—Forcatellus was the author of two works on the science which he taught: “*Le Troisième Livre de Arithmetique, par Pierre de Forcadel.*” Paris, 1557, 4to; and “*Les Six Premières Livres des Éléments d’Euclide trad. et commentez par Pierre Forcadel de Bezica.*” Paris, 1564. 4to.—Jacobus Carpentarius (Charpentier) the great opponent of Ramus, was chosen royal Professor of Mathematics in 1565. Ramus opposed his admission on the ground of his ignorance of that science, and urged that, as he had taken the title of Professor of Philosophy and Mathematics, there was reason to fear he intended to confine himself to the former branch, and to neglect the latter. (Bulæus, tom. vi. pp. 650—652.) James Melville mentions Salinacus among the professors of Mathematics. But this is a mistake. Joannes Salignacus was the favourite scholar of Vatablus, and distinguished for his acquaintance with Jewish and Rabinical learning. He appears to have been one of the royal Professors of Hebrew when Melville was at Paris. (Colomesii Gallia Orientalis, pp. 33—35. Calvini Epist. et Resp. p. 163. Oper. tom. ix.)

\* Melville’s Diary, p. 33.

† Nicholas Charton, Principal of the College of Beauvais, Jean Dahin, Principal of Chenai, and Pierre Ramée, Principal of Preale, with others of inferior note, were, in 1568, ejected from their situa-

years after Melville left Paris, all those who refused to subscribe the Roman Catholic faith, including the students, were driven from the university\*. The other circumstance alluded to is the opening of the College of Clermont at Paris by the Jesuits, with the exertions made by that intriguing order to gain admission into the university, and to insinuate themselves into the chief management of the education of youth. At the head of this new establishment was a countryman of Melville's, Edmund Hay, who had been a regent in the university of St. Andrew's, and left Scotland at the establishment of the Reformation, to which he was hostile†. The greater

tions, as Hugonots. (Buleus, tom. vi. pp. 657—660.) The other universities of France were, in proportion to their extent, still more generally infected with heresy. In Bourges eight professors were suspected of Lutheranism. (Bayle, Dict. art. *Daurca*.) The magistrates of Paris, in 1568, enforced their petition for the opening of a class of Civil Law in the capital, by urging the danger to which their sons were exposed of being infected with heresy at other universities. (Buleus, vi. 668.)

\* Buleus, vi. 562. 583.

† Records of University of St. Andrew's. Crawford says he was the son of Peter Hay of Meggins, ancestor of the Earls of Kinnoull. (Officers of State, p. 157.) But he seems to have confounded the Jesuit with a person of the same name, who was an Advocate. There is no evidence that the former ever followed the profession of Law; as Crawford asserts. He had left Scotland in 1560, or at any rate was in France in 1564, and continued, till his death, to hold a distinguished place among the Jesuits in that country. Mr. Edmund Hay, advocate, was one of the Counsel for the Earl of Bothwell, on his trial for the murder of Darnley, and in the process of his divorce. (Buchanan's Detection, sig. k, 2. Goodall's Examination, i. 368.) And he signs a Contract as a procurator, Jan. 2. 1572. (Register-Book of Contracts of the Commissariat of St. Andrew's.)—Dempster has stated with more probability, that father Edmund Hay was descended from the family of Dalgaty, in Buchan. (Hist. Eccles. Scot. lib. 8. p. 301.)

part of the Scots who retired to the Continent from attachment to the old religion, entered into the society of the Jesuits, in which they were sure to obtain promotion; owing to the ardour of their zeal, and a desire to allure converts from a kingdom that had made so sudden and general a defection from the Catholic Church. Hay was entitled to these honours by the respectability of his character no less than the sacrifices which he had made for the ancient faith. He afterwards became rector of the Academy which the Jesuits erected at Port-a-Monson, Provincial of the Brethren in France, and Assistant to Claudius Aquaviva, the General of the whole order\*.

The knowledge which Melville at this time obtained of the designs of the Jesuits, prompted him to exert himself afterwards in putting the universities of Scotland on such a footing as to render it unnecessary for young men to seek education abroad, where they were in the utmost danger of being seduced by these active and artful zealots of Rome†.

Melville also heard Francis Baldwin, the lawyer; who was allowed to read occasional or extraordi-

\* Ribadeneira, *Illustr. Script. Societ. Jas. Catal.* p. 40. Lugd. 1609: Dempst. ut supra. A letter from Edmund Hay, ("ex Paris. idib. Feb. 1564,") in which he gives an account of the successful commencement of the college of Clermont, and the opposition it had met with, is inserted by Buleus. *Histor. Univers. Paris.* tom. vi. p. 388.

† In 1594, the Jesuits' Seminary had nearly depopulated the colleges in the university of Paris. (Buleus, ut supra, p. 847.)

nary lectures on Civil Law at Paris \*. There was not then, nor for a considerable time after, a regular class for this science in the university of Paris, and it was not without strenuous opposition from the other learned corporations in France that its erection was obtained †. Melville had no intention of practising law, but he was anxious to avail himself of the opportunity which he enjoyed of going through a complete course of education. With this view he left Paris in 1566, and went to the university of Poitiers.

Such was the reputation which he had gained, that, though a stranger, and only twenty-one years of age, he was, on his arrival at Poitiers, made a regent in the college of St. Marceon. There was great rivalry between it and the college of St. Pivareau, the students of each endeavouring to excel those of the other in the composition of verses, and in the delivery of orations. In these literary contests the college of St. Marceon carried away the palm while Melville was connected with it. In this situation he remained for three years, prosecuting at the same time the study of jurisprudence ‡. Meanwhile, the civil war between the Catholics and Protestants, which was renewed in 1567, spread through the kingdom, and extended its baleful in-

\* Melville's Diary, p. 33. Bayle states that Baldwin, about the period here referred to, read lectures upon parts of the Pandects, at Paris, to a large audience, and with great applause. (Dict. art. *Baudouin*.) And it would appear that, as early as 1546, he and Hottoman prelected on Civil Law in the *Ecoles du Decret*. Ibid. art. *Hottman*, (Francois) note M.

† See Note F.

‡ Melville's Diary, ut supra.

fluence to the seats of learning. In 1568, Admiral Coligni, at the head of the Protestant army, laid siege to the city of Poitiers, which was vigorously defended by the young Duke of Guise. The classes in the university being broken up, Melville entered into the family of a Counsellor of Parliament as tutor to his only son. When he was making rapid improvement in his education, this promising boy was prematurely cut off. Coming into his room one day, Melville found his little pupil bathed in blood, and mortally wounded by a cannon ball from the camp of the besiegers which had pierced the house. He lingered for a short time, during which he employed the religious instructions which he had received in comforting his afflicted parent; and expired in his tutor's arms, pronouncing these words in Greek, *Διδασκαλε, τον δρομον μου περιελκησας*—*Master, I have finished my course*. Melville continued to retain a lively recollection of this affecting scene, to which he never could allude without tears\*.

During the siege Melville found himself exposed to danger from another cause. He had taken no part in the political dissensions of the country, and prudently avoided giving offence to the Roman Catholics with whom he was obliged to associate. But his inclinations as to religion were not altogether unknown †, and any mercenary or officious informer

\* Melville's Diary, p. 33, 34.

† There had been a reformed church in Poitiers for several years, and its minister sat in the first National Synod of the Protestants of France. In 1560 the second National Synod was held in that city. (Quick, Synodicon, i. 2, 12.)

might have deprived him of his liberty, or even his life, in a place which was under martial law. There was a small company of soldiers stationed as a guard to the Counsellor's house, and Melville had raised the suspicions of the subaltern officer who commanded them, by reading the Bible, and similar acts of devotion, which were usually regarded by the French soldiery as the discriminating marks of the Hugonots or Christaudins \*. An alarm being one day given that the enemy intended an assault, the officer, with a stern voice, challenged him as a Hugonot, who would betray the city to the enemy, and whom he durst not trust at liberty. Melville repelled this charge with warmth, armed himself with the utmost expedition, and taking a horse from the stable, prepared to mount it, and repair to the breach. His stout averments, and the alacrity which he displayed, staggered the suspicions of the soldier, who now requested him to desist from his preparations. "No, no; (answered Melville) I will shew myself this day to be as honest and as brave a man as you." Upon this the poor fellow had recourse to entreaties, begging him not to inform the master of the house of what he had done; for if the matter came to the ears of his superior officer he would lose his place for molesting so loyal and good a subject. And he ever after treated Melville with the most profound respect.

\* The Catholics of France were accustomed at this time to apply both these names to the Protestants. (Bulwer, vi. 493.)

The siege being raised, Melville resolved to quit France, and repair to Geneva for the prosecution of theological studies. Great caution was necessary in carrying this purpose into execution ; for it was reported that foreign troops were coming to the assistance of the Admiral, and the governors of the provinces bordering on Switzerland and Germany had received strict orders from the court to suffer none to leave the kingdom without passports. Having concerted his journey with a young Frenchman who wished to accompany him, he left his books and other effects behind him, and set out on foot with a small Hebrew Bible slung from his belt. This was a mode of travelling to which he was partial, and the usual way in which he equipped himself for it. Being light in body, and full of spirits, he performed the journey with great ease ; and when his fellow-traveller, exhausted with fatigue, had thrown himself on bed, he sallied forth, and examined whatever was worthy of being seen in the places at which they stopped. By avoiding the public roads and fortified towns, they passed the frontiers of France without meeting with any interruption. Night had set in when they reached Geneva, and the city was strictly guarded on account of the confusions of France, and the multitude of strangers who came from it. When questioned by the guard, the Frenchman replied that they were poor scholars from France. The countenance of the soldier expressed his thoughts as significantly as if he had said aloud, " We have got too many per-



sons of your description already." Melville, perceiving this, assured him that they had enough of money to pay for all that they required, and shewing him the letters which they had for Monsieur Beza, begged to know where they would find that minister: upon which the gates were opened to them.

At their first interview Beza was highly pleased with Melville, of whom he talked to his colleagues as a person who appeared well qualified to fill the chair of Humanity which happened to be then vacant in their Academy. Accordingly he was put on trials within a few days after his arrival, and, being examined on Virgil and Homer, acquitted himself so much to the satisfaction of his judges, that he was immediately admitted. A quarter of a year's salary was paid him at his admission, which proved a very seasonable relief; for, notwithstanding his courageous language to the guard, the joint funds of the two travellers did not exceed a crown when they entered Geneva. He was now able to support himself creditably, and also to maintain his desponding companion until such time as he obtained a situation.

During the ten years which had elapsed since its erection, the University, or as it is commonly called, the Academy of Geneva \*, had flourished

\* The magistrates of Geneva having applied to the King of France to obtain the privileges of a university to their academy, his majesty, after consultation, refused the request, upon this ground, that "Universities were found to be the nurseries of heresy." (Senebier, *Histoire Littéraire de Geneve*, i. 36.)

under the fostering care of the magistrates and ministers of that energetic republic. It was at this time furnished with teachers who were inferior to those of no titled university in Europe, and had attracted students from every protestant country. The professorship which Melville had obtained was chiefly valued by him as it put it in his power to avail himself of the talents of these excellent men in the prosecution of his studies. With true literary ardour he waited on their public instructions as a scholar, at the same time that he was honoured with their friendship and admitted to their private society as a colleague.

It was at this period that he made that progress in oriental literature for which he was afterwards distinguished. Rodolph Chevalier\*, the first professor of Hebrew in the academy, had lately left Geneva, and was succeeded by Cornelius Bertramus. The talents and erudition of Bertram were superior to those of his predecessor. His book on the Jewish Polity is still a standard work; and his Comparison of the Hebrew and Aramean languages discovers an acquaintance with grammatical analogy very uncommon at that period†. Melville

\* Antoine-Rodolphe Chevalier (Cevalerius) was Queen Elizabeth's tutor in the French language; and at a late period of his life he appears to have taught Hebrew in England. Among the Baker MSS. vol. xiii. 36. is "Account of Cevalerius, Hebrew reader, and his issue." (Biogr. Britan. vol. i. p. 524. 2d edit. Teissier, Eloges, tom. ii. p. 436.)

† Four recommendatory poems by Melville are prefixed to this work. Its title is: "Comparatio Grammaticæ Hebraicæ et Arami-

acquired from him the knowledge of Syriac, which had but recently become a subject of study among Europeans, and which is so useful to a divine from its near affinity to the original of the Old Testament, and from the ancient and valuable version of the New Testament which exists in it.

The Greek chair in the academy was then filled by Franciscus Portus, a native of the island of Candia\*. Portus is well known to the learned by his commentaries on ancient authors. He had resided at the court of Renée, the accomplished Dutchess of Ferrara, and retired to Geneva for the sake of enjoying the free exercise of the reformed religion. Enthusiastically attached to Grecian literature from patriotism as well as profession, Portus was charmed with the progress which Melville had made in it, and took great pleasure in pointing out to him the beauties of his native tongue, and in discussing with him those nice questions in its philology about which critics were

ce. Auctore Bonaventura Cornelio Bertramo, vtriusque lingue Professore. Apud Eustathium Vignon. 1574." 4to. Bertramo was the editor of the Polyglot Bible, published by Commelin in 2 vols. fol. 1586. (Le Long, Bibliotheca Sacra, tom. i. part. i. p. 384-5. edit. Masch.) For his other works, Bayle, Teissier, and Colomesius (*Gallia Orientalis*, p. 68.) may be consulted.

\* Isaac Casaubon, the first Greek scholar of the age in which he lived, was a pupil of Portus, and has pronounced the highest eulogium on his master. "Sincera pietas, virtus excellens, et singularis doctrina, bonis omnibus venerabilem reddebant." (*Exercitationes ad Apparat. AnnaL. Baronii*, p. 37. edit. 1663. See also *Vita Casauboni*, pp. 4, 5. edit. Almeloveen.) Several Greek poems by Portus are in the edition *Bezae Poematum*, printed anno 1569.

then divided. On these occasions Melville sometimes ventured to oppose the favourite opinions of his master, either from conviction, or with the view of eliciting fuller information on the subject. In a dispute as to the proper pronunciation of the language, and the power of the accents, he happened one day to push his objections rather too freely, upon which the jealous Candian grew warm, and testily exclaimed, *Vos Scoti, vos barbari, docetis nos Græcos pronuntiationem nostræ linguæ, et licet!*—You Scots, you barbarians, will teach us Greeks how to pronounce our own language, forsooth \*!

But the person to whom Melville felt the strongest attraction at Geneva, was the celebrated Theodore Beza, who performed the duty of professor of divinity in the academy, along with that of a minister of the city. After the death of Calvin, Beza was unquestionably the brightest ornament, and the most powerful champion, of the Reformation. Equally distinguished as a divine, a poet, an orator, and a critic, no individual contributed more to enlighten and adorn the age in which he lived †. His editions of the Greek New Testament, accompanied with a Latin translation and notes, whatever defects may now be discovered in them, were by far the most valuable works which had then

\* Melville's Diary, p. 35.

† Casaubon, in one of his letters, calls Beza, Scaliger, and De Thou, "the three sats of the learned world." (Epist. p. 68. edit. Almeloveen.)

Besides attending the sermons and the academical prelections of this eminent individual, Melville had the happiness of being admitted at all times to his private society. The learning, wit, vivacity, and candour, which Melville possessed, would of themselves have recommended him to the notice of one who was so susceptible of impressions from these qualities; but there were other circumstances which contributed to facilitate his access to the good graces of Beza. That reformer was uniformly partial to Scotsmen. He admired the ecclesiastical constitution of Scotland. He had long maintained an intimate friendship with two of the most illustrious individuals in that nation, Knox and Buchanan. And there was at that time in Geneva another Scotsman, a relation of Melville, with whom he had lived for many years as a colleague, and whom he revered for his talents and virtues.

This was Henry Scrimger, whose exertions for the revival of letters reflected great honour on Scotland, although his name is now known to few of

one was chosen by lot from the company of ministers to visit those who were infected with that dreadful malady. The Council issued an order, that Beza should be exempted from the lot, upon which he appeared before them, and begged that they would recal their order, as he looked upon the service as a part of his ministerial function. Accordingly, his name was included among those of his brethren. In 1572, the Churches of France requested his assistance at the National Synod of Nîmes. The magistrates of Geneva did not think it safe for him to undertake the journey, and proposed that he should send them his advice in writing. Beza convinced them that this would not answer the purpose, and after a long debate they consented that he should go. (*Recueil de diverses particularitez concernant Geneve* : 20 Feb. 1570; and 21 Apr. 1572. MS.)

his countrymen. He was the son of Walter Scrimger of Glasswell, a branch of the honourable family of Diddup, in which the offices of royal standard-bearer and of constable of Dundee had long been hereditary. Having finished his course of education with applause at St. Andrew's\*, he went to the university of Paris, from which he removed to Bourges, to prosecute the study of Civil Law, under Baro and Duaren. By the recommendation of the celebrated Amiot, then professor of Greek at Bourges and afterwards raised to the highest offices, he became tutor to the children of Secretary Boucherel. In this situation he gave such satisfaction that he was chosen private secretary to the bishop of Rennes, upon his appointment as ambassador from the court of France to different states of Italy. During a visit to Padua, he saw the noted Francis Spira, who died under great horror of mind in consequence of his recantation of the Protestant religion. This scene produced the same effect upon Scrimger's mind which it did on Vergerio, bishop of Capo d'Istria, and Gribaldi, a lawyer of Padua; and he determined to sacrifice the prospects which his present situation held out to him, and to return to Switzerland, where he might profess the reformed sentiments with safety. Being invited to Augsbourg by the Fuggers, a family who had raised from the mines of Tyrol a princely fortune, which they expended in the advancement of

\* See Note G.

literature \*, Scrimger furnished the library of Ulrich Fugger with the rarest books and manuscripts. During his travels in Italy, he had collected ample materials for correcting the works of the ancients, and particularly those of Greece †. He published an edition of the *Novelle Constitutiones* of Justinian in Greek, which was prized by the first lawyers of the time; and the editions of several of the classics published by Henry Stephens were enriched with the various readings and remarks which he liberally communicated to that learned printer. In 1562, Calvin persuaded him to come to Geneva. The magistrates conferred on him the freedom of the city; and, after he had taught for two years as professor of philosophy, they appointed him to the newly erected chair of Civil Law, which he filled till his death ‡.

\* Shelhorn, *Amenitates Hist. Ecclesiasticæ*, i. 719. The same author has collected various facts respecting this family in his *Amenitates Literariæ*.

† See under Note G.

‡ Maittaire, *Hist. Stephan.* passim. Senebier, *Catalogue Raisonné des Manuscrits de Genève*, p. 235. From Calvin's letter, dated 27th October, 1562, it appears that Scrimger was not then at Geneva. But in another work, Senebier states (apparently from the public records) that he was admitted professor of philosophy at Geneva in 1561, and that the freedom of the city was conferred on him in the course of the same year. (*Histoire Littéraire*, i. 497.) Among the witnesses to Calvin's Testament, made 26th April, 1564, we find "spectatum virum Henricum Scrimgerum professorem artium," and he is included among those called "cives Genevenses." (Beza, *Vita Calvini*.) "Henri Scrimger, professeur de droit," was elected a member of the Council of LX. "3 Janvier, 1570, à l'âge de 64." (*Fragmens Biograph. et Hist. extraits de Registres de Genève*, p. 16. Gen. 1815.)

As Melville's elder brother had been married to a sister of Scrimger, he had the readiest access to the conversation of his venerable countryman, which was highly valuable from the knowledge which he had acquired during his travels, and to his library, which was stored with the best and rarest books, both printed and in manuscript. He was a frequent visitor at his lodgings in town, and also at the *Violet*, a neat villa which Scrimger had built within a league of Geneva, and where he chiefly resided during the last years of his life, with his wife and an only daughter\*.

At Geneva Melville had the happiness to become personally acquainted with several other individuals well known in the learned world, some of whom afterwards corresponded with him. Among these was Lambert Danaeus, who was at that time associated with Beza in teaching theology, and afterwards discharged the same office in the university of Leyden†. The learned printer, Henry Stephens, took particular notice of our young countryman, and spoke of him in the most flattering terms‡. He also obtained the friendship of Paulus Melissus, celebrated for his Latin odes, and translation of the Psalms into Ger-

\* Melville's Diary, p. 35. James Melville mentions only his daughter; but it appears from a letter of Scrimger to Buchanan, that his wife was alive in April, 1672, (Buchan. Epist. p. 9.) From Buchanan's letter to him, it would seem that he had lately been bereaved of some of his children. (Ibid. p. 8.)

† Recueil de diverses particularitez concernant Geneve. MS. p. 116. Senebier, Hist. Litt. i. 312.

‡ Casauboni Epist. p. 129. edit. Almelovcen.



man *verto* \*. James Lectius, equally distinguished as a politician and a scholar, whose name is associated with those of Bonnivard, Roset, and other patriots, in the history of his country, and who was permitted, by way of singular honour, to occupy at the same time a chair in the academy and the highest office in the republic, was the pupil of Melville, for whom he continued ever after to cherish the highest esteem †.

The massacre of the Protestants, which commenced at Paris on St. Bartholomew's day, 1572, and which wrought such woe to France, was the occasion of extending Melville's acquaintance with the learned men of the age. Those who escaped the dagger of the murderer, took refuge in Geneva, whose gates were thrown open to receive them. One hundred and twenty French ministers were at one time in the city. The academy overflowed with students, and the magistrates were unable to provide salaries for the learned men whom they were desirous to employ, or to find situations for such as were willing to teach without receiving any remuneration ‡. Among those who obtained public ap-

\* *Adami Vitæ Germanorum Philosophorum*, p. 448. Among the poems of Melissus is one inscribed "Ad Andr. Melvinum Celurcanum." (*Melissi Schediasmatum Poeticorum Pars Tertia*, p. 226. *Lvætiæ Parisiorum*, 1586.)

† *Epistola J. Lectii*, MS. in *Bibl. Jurid. Edin.* M. 6. 9. Num. 31. *Casauboni Epistolæ*, p. 129. *Senebier, Hist. Litt.* ii. 54—61. A great many letters which passed between him and Casaubon are in the collection of *Almeloveen*.

‡ See two letters of Beza to Thomas Von Til, in *Illustr. et Clav. Viror. Epistolæ Selectiores*, pp. 615—620. *Scaligerana*, *Thuana*,

pointments was Joseph Scaliger, the first scholar of the age; and a man of real genius, although he devoted his talents chiefly to the dry study of criticism and illustration of ancient authors\*. Melville's acquaintance with Scaliger had commenced two years before this period, during a visit which that learned man paid to Geneva†. All the commendatory verses prefixed to a collection of his father's poems, which he published during his exile, proceeded from Melville's pen‡. Among the refugees there were also two civilians, distinguished for their talents and erudition: Francis Hottoman,

&c. tom. ii. p. 344. Scaliger has preserved the curious fact, that the Dutchess of Savoy sent 4000 florins annually for the relief of the French refugees at Geneva. Beza was the only minister acquainted with this charitable deed during the life of the Dutchess. In one of Beza's letters above referred to we find another singular fact. The city of Geneva had been grievously afflicted with the plague during the greater part of two years, but this dreadful malady disappeared upon the arrival of the persecuted fugitives.

\* He was admitted Professor of Philosophy in October, 1572, and continued to read lectures in the academy during two years. (Gmelin, Hist. Litter. ii. 10. and Scaligerana. Secunda, art. Genev.) Chauffepié and Burman, who have referred his residence at Geneva to another period, have suffered themselves to be misled by trusting to inferences from letters without dates.

† Scaliger has mentioned his being at Geneva in 1570. (Scaligerana, Thuana, &c. tom. ii. p. 344.)

‡ Jvlii Cesaris Scaligeri Poemata—Genevæ, 1575, 8vo. The epigrams are inscribed "Andr. Melvinvs Celurcanus." In the College Library of Edinburgh there is a copy of that work which had belonged to Melville, and has his autograph on the title page. He has transcribed some poems on the blank leaves at the beginning of the book, and written notes on the margin, consisting partly of emendations of the text, and partly of references to ancient authors whom Scaliger had imitated. To the subscription of the epigrams he has added

who had taught with high reputation at Bourges and Valence; and Edmond Bonnefoy, the colleague of the great Cujacius. The latter had run the greatest risk in the massacres, and was protected from the fanatical fury of the people by Cujacius, who esteemed him so highly as to declare, that if he were dying, and desired, like Aristotle, to choose his successor, he would name Bonnefoy \*. A compliment not less flattering is paid him by the enlightened De Thou, who has recorded, in his history, that he was the scholar of Bonnefoy, and owed more to him than to any other man †. So zealous were the magistrates of Geneva to encourage science, that, in the midst of their poverty, they allotted handsome salaries to these two civilians, only requiring that the citizens should be admitted gratis to their lectures. Hottoman lectured twice a-week on Roman Law, and Bonnefoy thrice a-week on Oriental Jurisprudence, a science of which he may be regarded as the founder, and for which he was eminently qualified by his knowledge of the languages of the East ‡.

with his pen "*ad Lemannum*," to intimate that he was then resident at Geneva. "*Celurcanus*" means a native of *Montrose*.

*Nobilis urbs rosei jam gaudet nomine montis,  
Quæ prius a cælo dicta Celurca fuit.*

Ar. Jonstoni *Pœmata Omnia*, p. 439. Middelb. 1642.

Two of these epigrams by Melville are republished in *Delitia Pœtarum Scotorum*, tom. ii. p. 344.

\* Cujacii *Observationes*, cap. vi. Bonnefoy died at Geneva in the year 1574. *Hottomanorum Epistolæ*, p. 45.

† Thuani *Hist.* ad ann. 1574. *Teissier*, iii. 33-4.

‡ Hottoman's salary was 800 florins, and Bonnefoy's 700 a-year.


We are expressly informed that Melville heard the lectures of Hottoman \* ; and there can be little doubt that he also availed himself of the opportunity of attending those of Bonnefoy, which were still more intimately connected with those studies to which he had now devoted his chief attention.

I have gone into these details, not merely as illustrative of the literary history of the period, but also as serving to throw light on the future conduct of Melville. We shall find him taking a deep interest in the political transactions of his native country ; and the facts which we have produced tend to show that he was not unqualified by his education for judging on this subject. The studies of the learned in that age were more universal, and the common ground on which men of different professions met, was more extended than at present. Every person versant in its literary history must have been particularly struck with the union of the study of theology and law. Law, when properly viewed, is a noble, and in some sense a divine science. When, instead of being made to rest on the arbitrary dictates of mere will, whether exerted by individuals or communities, on the prescriptions of custom, or on the uncertain deductions of indeterminable expediency, the Law of Nations is founded, as it always ought to be, on the Law of Nature, and the eternal principles of equity and

Recueil de diverses particularitez conc. Geneve, p. 118. Hottomanorum Epistolæ, p. 45. Senebier, i. 327. ii. 7, 8.

\* Melville's Diary, p. 35. Colomesti Gallia Orientalis, p. 58.

justice sanctioned by the Supreme Legislator, the study of it is closely allied to that of theology. And to represent them as discordant, or as incapable of affording aid to each other, is to injure both, and is as absurd as it would be to divorce and discover the great ends which they respectively aim at,—the promoting of the temporal and spiritual welfare of mankind. We meet with few of the writers of this period who excelled in one of these branches without being also well acquainted with the other. As religion is the common concern of all men, and as the public mind was then deeply interested in the controversies relating to it, we are not greatly surprised at the accounts which are given of the extensive acquaintance with the Scriptures, and with Ecclesiastical History, which was possessed by many distinguished civilians and statesmen—by such men as Hottoman, and Godefray, and Grotius, Langnet, and Morisy, and St. Aldegonde. But we are not equally prepared to admit the statement, although well authenticated, that the chief divines of the reformed church were intimately acquainted with the principles of jurisprudence, and qualified, by the course of study which they had pursued, to give their advice on questions relating to government and the administration of laws. Not to mention Calvin, Beza, and other foreign theologians, it would be easy to establish the fact by referring to not a few in our own country, as Row, Craig, Pont, Arbuthnot, and Adamson. This may be ascribed partly to the passion which those



who addicted themselves to learning at that period felt to "intermeddle with all knowledge;" and partly to the superior gratification which this manly study yielded, in comparison with the dry and disgusting logic which had so long been exclusively cultivated in the schools. But it is chiefly to be traced to a new feeling, which recent events had produced, and which had for its direct object the promotion of the public good. This was the effect of the late reformation of religion; and at the same time one of the moral forces by which that mighty revolution exerted its influence upon the sentiments of mankind in favour of civil liberty and the amelioration of government. It is a favourite maxim with many in the present day, that the benefits which we owe to the Reformation, are to be regarded as the ulterior and remote results of that event, rather than effects contemplated and intended by the Reformers. It would be absurd to give an absolute negative to this proposition; but there is much less truth in it than those who announce it with such oracular importance imagine. Many of those actions which we are apt to impute to turbulence, or to clerical ambition and officiousness, and which we are prone to stigmatize as the offspring of bigotry and intolerance, we would, if better acquainted with the principles of the actors, and more attentive to the circumstances in which they were placed, see reason to ascribe to more enlightened and patriotic views.

It was at Geneva that Knox first felt the hallowed flame of liberty kindle in his breast; and while he breathed the free air of that republic, he conceived the enterprise of breaking the fetters of religious and political bondage by which his native country was enthralled. Since his leaving it, the spirit of freedom had expanded itself, and during the two last years that Melville resided there, an event occurred which enables us to ascertain its force. To assert, as some have done, that the violent and sanguinary measures to which tyrants have recourse always defeat themselves, would be only to foster delusion; for history demonstrates that they have, on the contrary, very often proved but too successful. At the same time, it is true, that, under the direction of a merciful Providence, they have sometimes led to happier results. This was particularly the case as to the horrid scenes which disgraced France in the year 1572. The sensation produced by them was simultaneously felt at the most distant extremities of Europe. In Poland it excited alarm and disgust at the idea of receiving a king from a court polluted with blood and perfidy\*. In Scotland it crushed

\* I allude particularly to a fact which appears to have been hitherto concealed in the registers of Geneva. The Duke of Anjou, brother of Charles IX. and afterwards Henry III. of France, having offered himself as a candidate for the vacant throne of Poland, the Polish Protestants wrote, in April, 1573, to the ministers of Geneva, requesting to be fully informed respecting the massacres in France, and the real authors of them, that they might take their measures accordingly in the approaching election of a new king. The ministers laid the

the hopes of a party which laboured to restore popery and arbitrary power. In the Low Countries it confirmed the inhabitants in their resolution to release themselves from the tyrannical yoke of Spain. And it disposed the court of England to afford the assistance necessary for enabling these patriots to achieve their emancipation.

But it was at Geneva that this feeling operated with full force. In a city composed of freemen and Protestants, the conduct of the French court excited the strongest indignation, and was universally execrated. Smarting under the injuries which they had suffered, the refugees denounced the tyranny of the rulers who had inflicted them, and pointed to the only remedy by which the evil could be effectually corrected. Those who had afforded them an asylum were prepared to sympathize with their feelings and sentiments. The most important and delicate questions respecting government—the origin of power, the best mode of conveying it, its just limits, and the right of subjects to resist its abuse—became the topics of common discourse, and were discussed with a freedom and boldness which could have been tolerated only in a republican state, and exemplified only at a period when the public mind was in a state of high excitement. It was at this time that Hottoman composed his *Franco-Gallia*, a work

letters before the council, who did not judge it prudent to return an answer in writing, but sent a person qualified for giving them the information which they required. (Recueil de diverses particularitez concernant Geneve, p. 119. MS.)



which resembles the political treatises of Buchanan \* and of Languet †, in the questions which it agitates, and the principles of freedom which it lays down and defends. At the same time, and in the same strain, did Beza compose a tract, which the magistrates of Geneva suppressed from prudential considerations, while they pronounced an approbation of the principles which it contained ‡. Peter Charpentier, a mercenary renegade, insulted the city which had formerly honoured him with an academical chair §, by addressing to Portus, the professor of Greek at Geneva, an apology for the massacre of St. Bartholomew, in which he insidiously attempted to shew, that there were two classes of Protestants in France, a religious and a political, and that the late ebullition of public vengeance was directed solely against those who had made religion a cloak to their treasonable designs. Though foreign to his profession and studies, Portus took up the pen, and in a reply, breathing keen but virtuous indignation, defended the innocence of the sufferers, and exposed the malignant falsehoods

\* *De Jure regni apud Scotos.*

† *Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos*; published by Hubert Languet under the name of Junius Brutus.

‡ See Note H.

§ Charpentier was for some time the colleague of Henry Scriver, in the profession of Civil Law, at Geneva. (Senebier, *Hist. Litter.* i. 51. 326.) He was the son of James Charpentier, who is charged with having revenged his literary quarrels with Ramus, by instigating his scholars to murder that philosopher during the cannibal-scenes exhibited in Paris. (Bayle, art. *Ramée* and *Charpentier*.)

and stale sophistry of their base and unprincipled calumniator \*.

How deeply Melville's mind was imbued with these sentiments, appears from the uniform zeal which he afterwards shewed for the liberties of his country, and the firm resistance which he opposed to popery and arbitrary power. It was also displayed in the poems which he composed at this time; in which he embalmed the memory of the late martyrs, and bitterly execrated the cruelty of their persecutors †.

In the year 1572, Alexander Young came to Geneva with letters, from the Regent Mar and Buchanan, to his uncle, Henry Scrimger †, requesting his return to Scotland, and promising him the most honourable and liberal encouragement. Buchanan had before repeatedly written him to the

\* Franc. Porti, Cretensis, Responsio ad Epistolam Petri Carpentarii. Genev. 1572.

† The two following epigrams may serve as a specimen of his cordial detestation of tyranny.

Classicum.

Ad libertatem quid obest tibi, Gallia? Vis, fraus,  
Et lupus, et lupa, cum sanguineis catulis.  
Ad libertatem quid adest tibi, Gallia? Jus, fas,  
Menseque manusque virum. Nunc quid abest? Animus.

Tyrannis.

Tarquinii de stirpe truces cum terra tyrannos  
Tot ferat; acri unus pectore Brutus ubi est?

† Alexander Young, was the brother of Peter Young, Buchanan's colleague in the education of James VI. Their mother was *Margaret Scrimger*, sister to Henry Scrimger. (Smith, Vita Petri Junii, pp. 3, 4.)

same purpose, and the manner in which he urged his request showed, at the same time, his own patriotism and the high esteem for Settember. But that versatile scholar continued to excuse himself, by pleading the necessities of his native country and his own advanced age. For several years Melville had always regarded Settember as the master with which he connected his studies and the discharge of his avowed duty. The memory of it and of the friends whom he had not seen for many years was renewed by the correspondence of Young; and when she began to write to Settember he sent letters by her to his brothers recommending them with his suggestions. As soon as the first of June for a long time and when he had seen his life in the troubles of France, they were again set to work that he was a good friend and encouraged in Geneva. Upon Young's return to Scotland in that city, Melville received the most affectionate letters from them, on pressing invitations to visit home. Among the rest was a letter from one of his nephews, then a student in St. Andrews, and the ingenious manner in which the young man described the low state of education in Scotland, and spoke of the benefit which it would derive from a person of such learning as he was, and his high position, had no small influence in disposing him to think seriously of returning to Scotland.

About the same time, Alexander Campbell, a cadet

of the house of Argyle, who, though a youth, had been presented to the bishopric of Brechin\*, visited Geneva in his travels, accompanied by his tutor, Andrew Polwart. The solicitations of Polwart, with whom Melville had been acquainted at the University of St. Andrew's, joined to the urgent request of his own friends, determined him to return to Scotland, and to devote the knowledge which he had acquired abroad to the service of his country. This resolution he respectfully intimated to his colleagues, and to the magistrates, as patrons of the academy; requesting their permission to demit the office with which they had honoured him. His request was reluctantly granted, with expressions of their sorrow at losing him, and ample testimonials of their approbation and esteem. In a letter addressed to the General Assembly in their name, Beza, among other expressions of the same tenor, testified, that Andrew Melville was "equally distinguished by his piety and his erudition; and that the Church of Geneva could not give a stronger proof of affection to her sister Church of Scotland, than by suffering herself to be bereaved of him, that his native country might be enriched with his gifts †."

It was not without feelings of regret that Melville parted from Geneva, and the friends whom

\* "Alexander Campbell of Carco, sumetime bishop of Brichen—  
deceist in his place of carco w<sup>t</sup> in the parish of Kinclevin in the  
moneth of Febr. 1608." (Testament Testamentar, in Records of Com-  
missary Court of Edinburgh, 23 Junij. 1608.)

† Melville's Diary, p. 35.

he had gained during his residence in that city. In the subsequent period of his life, he frequently retraced the scene in his imagination, and relieved his mind, amidst his labours and anxieties, by recollecting the happy years which he had spent there, in the peaceful pursuits of literature, and in the society of some of the greatest and best men of the age. The subject is more than once introduced in his poetical pieces, and always with tenderness and enthusiasm. In a poem to the memory of John Lyndsay, one of his countrymen who died at Geneva, he pays an affectionate tribute to the most distinguished individuals whom he had known in that city. This is introduced by a deploration of the massacres so disgraceful to the neighbouring kingdom of France, which were painfully associated with the delightful recollections which the thoughts of Geneva excited in his breast. In the same poem he commemorates several of his countrymen, who, like Lindsay, had finished their days at Geneva\*.

Melville left Geneva in spring, 1574, along with Polwart, and his pupil the Bishop of Brechin. They took the way of Lyons; and, traversing Franche-compté, descended the Loire to Orleans. During a part of their journey they were accompanied by three Frenchmen—a priest, a physician, and an officer of the army, all zealous Roman Catholics. Before they parted, Melville had made the military gentleman almost a Protestant; and, partly by argu-

\* See Note I.

ment, and partly by good-humoured raillery, he prevailed so far over the prejudices of the others, as that they had no objection to eat flesh on Friday, a practice which they at first regarded with much horror.

: As the civil war was still raging in many parts of France, a vigilant eye was kept on such strangers as came to Orleans. When our travellers approached that city, the soldier on guard allowed the Bishop and Polwart, who were on foot, to pass without interruption, but stopped Melville, who, having sprained his foot, was on horseback. To the question, "Whence are you?" Melville replied, "From Scotland."—"O! you Scots are all Hugonots."—"Hugonots! What's that? We do not know such people in Scotland."—"You have no mess," said the soldier—" *Vous vous n'avez pas la Masse,*"—"No mess, man!" replied Melville merrily; "why, our children in Scotland go to mess every day."—" *Bon compagnon, allez vous;*" said the soldier, smiling and beckoning to him to proceed. When he reached the house at which they had previously agreed to lodge, he found his two countrymen in great trepidation lest their papers should have been examined, and disposed to laugh heartily at the equivocal by which they had escaped detection. They had reason to congratulate themselves, if the report of their landlord was to be credited; for he assured them that several persons had of late lost their lives for as small an offence as that of having come from Geneva. On leaving Orleans next day, they were

thrown anew into consternation, by unexpectedly falling in with a procession of the host, when they were again relieved from their embarrassment by the promptitude and address of Melville\*.

At Paris they met with a great many of their countrymen, and resolved to spend some time in the French capital. At the desire of Lord Ogilvy, Melville went to the Jesuits' College, and, meeting with Father Tyrie, was involved in a public dispute with that eager polemic. The dispute was continued during several days, but the Archbishop of Glasgow, being informed of it, let fall some threatening expressions, which, coming to the ears of Melville's friends, they persuaded him to leave the place as quickly as possible. Accordingly, he left Paris on the 30th of May, and proceeding with his former companions to Dieppe, sailed to Ry, and arrived safely in London. On the day that they quitted Paris, the French king, Charles IX., who had rendered himself so odious by his tyranny and cruelty, died of an issue of blood which burst from all the apertures of his body.

After remaining a short time in London, our travellers purchased horses, and took their journey by Berwick to Edinburgh; where Melville arrived in the beginning of July, 1574, after an absence of ten years from his native country\*.

\* Melville's Diary, pp. 35, 36.

† Ibid. p. 36.

## CHAPTER II.

1574—1580.

*MELVILLE declines an offer from the Regent Morton—Retires to Baldovv—Superintends the Studies of his Nephew—James Melville—Applications to the General Assembly for Melville's services—He visits Glasgow—Is introduced to the young King—Is admitted Principal of the University of Glasgow—Ruinous State of that University—His Plan for recovering it—New Mode of Instruction introduced by him—Effects of it—Individuals educated under him at Glasgow—Nova Erectio—Literary Conversation—Peter Blackburn—John Colville—College discipline—Mark Alexander Boyd—Instance of Melville's intrepidity in maintaining the authority of the University—Charged with advising the demolition of the Cathedral of Glasgow—Receives his Library from Geneva—His first Poetical Work.*

**MELVILLE** had scarcely arrived at Edinburgh, when he was waited on by George Buchanan, Alexander Hay, clerk to the Privy Council, and Colonel James Halyburton, a favourite of the Regent Morton. They proposed that he should act as domestic instructor to the Regent, promising that he should be advanced to a situation more suited to his merits, on the first vacancy which occurred. Morton had himself no taste for letters, and was not disposed, as



his predecessors were, to be liberal to learned men. But his sagacity convinced him of the influence which they exerted over the minds of others, and of the importance of attaching them to his interests. When individuals distinguished for their literary acquirements came into the kingdom, it was therefore his policy to draw them to court, to ascertain their dispositions, and on finding them pliable to his wishes, to advance them to benefices in the church. Melville was at that time a stranger to the Regent's plans, but he was decidedly averse to a residence at court. He preferred an academical life; one principal object which he had in view in returning to his native country, was to assist in the revival of its literature; and his highest ambition was to obtain, in one of the universities, a situation similar to that of Royal Professor at Paris. He therefore respectfully declined the proposal made to him in the name of the Regent, and requested permission to spend some time with his relations, from whom he had been so long absent, before he accepted of any public employment.

He went accordingly to Angus, and took up his residence with his elder brother at Baldovy, where he had spent his early years. During the following three months he amused himself with superintending the studies of one of his nephews, whom Richard Melville resigned to him as a pledge of fraternal love, and charged to "wait upon him as a son and servant." This was the young man whose letter had such influence in inducing his uncle to

quit Geneva, who afterwards became his academical assistant, and his faithful adherent in all the hardships which he suffered, and to whose zealous and grateful affection we are indebted for the knowledge of the most important incidents in his life, and the most interesting traits of his character. As we shall frequently have occasion to speak of this amiable individual, it is proper to introduce him to the acquaintance of the reader.

James Melville was the son of Richard Melville and Isabel Scrimger, and was born at Baldovy on the 25th of July, 1556. His early education \* was marred by the change of his teachers, and on entering the College of St. Leonard's in 1571, he was so much mortified at finding that he was incapable of understanding the lectures, which were delivered in Latin, that he burst into tears before the whole class. This attracted the notice of his regent, William Collace, who, pleased with this trait of youthful sensibility, kindly condescended to give him instructions, and to provide him with a private assistant, until he had surmounted the difficulties under which he laboured †. His mind was early impressed with a deep sense of religion, and a strong desire to devote himself to the preaching of the gospel. This desire was in a great measure the effect of the sermons which he heard from John Knox at St. Andrew's; and it remained unabated notwithstanding all that he witnessed of the poverty and hardships

\* See above, p. 7.

† Melville's Diary, p. 22.

of the Protestant ministers. His father, however, intended him for the more lucrative profession of law, and had fixed on a man of business in Edinburgh with whom he should serve as an apprentice. Richard Melville was an excellent man, and an affectionate father, but he had higher notions of parental authority, and kept his children in greater subjection, than are altogether consistent with the liberal notions of the age we live in. Being restrained by bashfulness, and the deference he had always been accustomed to pay to his father's will, James had recourse to an innocent stratagem to intimate his predilection for a different line of employment. He composed a sermon on a passage of Scripture, in the best manner of which he was capable, and put it carefully into one of the Commentaries which he knew his father was in the habit of consulting in his weekly preparations for the pulpit. The expedient succeeded according to his wish. For Richard Melville having once ascertained the decided inclinations of his son, and being pleased with the juvenile specimen of his gifts, was too wise and good to persist in carrying his own plans into execution. The apprenticeship was no more talked of; but still a due regard was paid to parental dignity and the good of the young man, by keeping him for some time in suspense as to his father's intentions. The arrival of Andrew Melville put an end to this reserve. James was now told, that he was at full liberty to follow his own inclinations; and, to his great joy, was delivered

over to his uncle, in the manner we have already stated, instead of being bound to the barrister\*.

Notwithstanding the striking resemblance between the uncle and nephew in stature and physiognomy, they differed in mental temperament, perhaps as widely as ever two individuals did who were united by the closest and most inviolable friendship. The talents of James Melville were respectable, without being of the same superior order as those of his uncle. Though not endowed with great liveliness or force of imagination, he possessed a sound judgment, and a heart tenderly susceptible of all the benevolent and social affections. Mild in his temper, and courteous in his manners, he was capable of exerting great authority over others, because he had the complete command of himself. To these amiable qualities were united a guileless uprightness, and an unshaken constancy in maintaining the friendships which he contracted, and adhering to the cause which his convictions led him to espouse. He was accordingly fitted for becoming a most useful companion to his uncle, who did not uniformly study the *molliter in verbis*, and was apt to be involved in difficulties by an impetuosity of temper which he was not always able to command, and was sometimes unwilling to restrain.

James Melville had lately finished his course of philosophy at the university of St. Andrew's, and,

\* Melville's Diary, pp. 21—31.

though a modest youth, flattered himself that he was capable of professing those liberal arts of which he had been declared a master by the first literary authority in the land. But a few hours' conversation with his new instructor dispelled this pleasing dream, and convinced him that he needed yet to begin his studies. There is something interesting in the artless manner in which he relates what he felt on making this discovery, and describes, from his first impressions, the eminent qualifications which his uncle possessed for a task in which he spent the greater part of his life \*.

Melville was not permitted long to enjoy his retirement at Baldovy. Beza's letter to the General Assembly, and the report of his countrymen who had come from Geneva, spread the fame of his erudition through Scotland. At the Assembly which met in August he was much talked of, and applications for his services were made from different quarters. The commissioners of the Synod of Fife were instructed to request that he might be granted to them, with the view of his being appointed Provost of St. Mary's College, St. Andrew's, in the room of Archbishop Douglas, who had just died †. A simi-

\* See Note K.

† Douglas died on the last day of July, 1574, (Act Buke of the Commissariat of St. Andrew's, 19th Feb. 1574.) When admitted to the bishopric, Douglas promised to resign the offices of rector of the university, and provost of St. Mary's College; and complaints were at different times made against him at the General Assembly for continuing to retain them. Calderwood, MS. Hist. vol. ii. pp. 344—429.

lar application was made in behalf of the University of Glasgow; and Archbishop Boyd, and Andrew Hay, commissioner of the west, urged so strongly the ruined state into which that seminary had fallen, that it was preferred to St. Andrew's, and the Assembly recommended it to Melville to yield to its claims. To secure their object, they prevailed upon such of his relations as were present to use their influence, on their return, to induce him to comply with this recommendation\*. Though he had not yet been introduced to them, the Assembly conferred a mark of their approbation on him, by inserting his name in a committee appointed to examine a poetical work previous to its publication†. It deserves notice, that this Assembly recognized the doctor, or interpreter of Scripture, as a distinct functionary of the church, and petitioned the Regent to appoint competent salaries for such learned men as were willing to discharge this office in the universities‡.

\* Melville's Diary, pp. 29, 30.

† "For reviewing and sighting of the history of Job, compiled be Mr. Patrick Adamsone in Latine verse, the present Assembly hath willed their loved brethren and the right honourable Mr. George Buchanan, keeper of the privy seal, Mr. Peter Young, Pedagogue to our Sovereign Lord, Mr. Andrew Melvill, Mr. James Lawson, minister of Edinburgh, to take travell in perusing of the said book, and if the same be found be thame agreeable to the truth of Gods word to authorize the samine with testimony of their hand writ and subcription." Cald. MS. vol. ii. p. 465.

‡ Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 60, b.

In consequence of a pressing invitation from the patrons of the university, Melville paid a visit to Glasgow; and, after making the necessary inquiries, and arranging certain alterations, he agreed to return, and undertake the office of Principal. Accordingly, in the end of October, he took leave of his affectionate brother (who died soon after \*) and set out for Glasgow, attended by James Melville. By the way he stopped two days at Stirling, where he was introduced to the young king, who had entered the ninth year of his age,—“the swiftest sight in Europe that day for strange and extraordinary gifts of ingyne, judgment, memorie, and language!” says James Melville, who was admitted to see him along with his uncle: “I hard him discourse, (continues he) walking up and down in the auld Lady Marr’s hand, of knowlege and ignorance, to my grait marvell and astonishment.” No doubt this astonishment was heightened by the reflection that the young philosopher was a king; but the truth is, that James did at this time exhibit symptoms of more than ordinary talents, and his teachers were highly gratified at the proficiency which he made under their tuition. At Stirling, Melville found Buchanan engaged, at leisure hours, in writing his History of Scotland; and, having taken his advice on the plan of education which he intended to follow, proceeded to Glasgow. Thomas Buchanan,

\* Richard Melville died in June, 1575. Diary, p. 14. 41.

the nephew of the poet, went along with him, to be present at his installation \*.

The literary history of the University of Glasgow properly commences with Melville, though the seminary had subsisted for upwards of a century before he was connected with it. From its first erection it was provided with professors in all the liberal arts and sciences then taught; but those of the higher faculties—theology, and law, civil and canon, lectured merely *pro forma*, or occasionally as it suited their own conveniency and the caprice of their beneficed auditors †. The number of regular students who attended it appears never to have been great, and among these are to be found few names of eminence ‡. Its funds, originally small, were wasted and reduced by alienations during the confusions which attended the great change of religion. Through the zealous exertions of individuals friendly to the interests of literature, gifts in its favour were procured from the crown and from the magistrates of the city §. But with the help of these only two regents could be maintained. The consequence was, that it languished for a few years, until, on the death of John Davidson, who held the situation of Principal, the students dispersed, and the college was literally shut up ||.

\* Melville's Diary, p. 39.

† See Note L.

‡ See Note M.

§ See Note N.

|| Records of the University of Glasgow; Memorial for Dr. Trail, and Answers for Dr. Leechman, in 1771; and Statist. Acc. of Scotland, vol. xxi.



The prospect was sufficiently discouraging, and an ordinary person would have despaired of being able to restore the suspended animation of the university. But such was Melville's zeal for the advancement of letters, and the confidence which he felt in his own resources, that he entered on the task he had undertaken without hesitation, and with the confident hope of raising the seminary over which he presided to a rank which no university in his native country had yet attained. His reputation secured the attendance of as many young men as were necessary for the opening of the classes. It would have been easy for him to have discharged the duties which were considered as belonging to the office of Principal, and to have left the education of the students to be conducted in the ordinary way, by such regents as should be placed under him. The patrons of the university had already procured a person of this description from St. Andrews. Allowing him to proceed in the manner to which he had been trained, and devolving on him the management of the slender revenues of the college, Melville set himself, with incredible labour, to the execution of a plan, in the formation of which he had availed himself of the most approved practices which he had witnessed in foreign academies. One great object which he had in view, was to train up a number of individuals who should be qualified for acting as assistants to him, and for following out his mode of

instruction. For this purpose he commenced with a select class of young men well grounded in the Latin language, and determined to conduct them himself through a regular and complete course of study.

He began by initiating them into the principles of Greek grammar. He then introduced them to the study of Logic and Rhetoric; using, as his text-books, the *Dialectics* of his Parisian master, Ramus, and the *Rhetoric* of Talæus\*. While they were engaged in these studies, he read with them the best classical authors, as Virgil and Horace among the Latins, and Homer, Hesiod, Theocritus, Pindar, and Isocrates, among the Greeks; pointing out, as he went along, their beauties, and illustrating by them the principles of logic and rhetoric. Proceeding to Mathematics and Geography, he taught the elements of Euclid, with the Arithmetic and Geometry of Ramus, and the Geography of Dionysius. And agreeably to his plan of uniting elegant literature with philosophy, he made the students use the *Phænomena* of Aratus, and the *Cosmographia* of Hontor†. Moral Philosophy formed the next branch

\* Audomarus Talæus, or Talon, was the scholar, and afterwards the colleague and warm defender, of Ramus. (Bulæus, *Hist. Univ. Paris*, vi. 389.) His *Rhetorica* was approved of and used by many who were strongly prejudiced against the Ramean school of philosophy.

† *Agaveo Talonæi Cosmographia*; first printed in the collection of Ancient Geographers by Aldus, at Venice, in 1499, and frequently republished. This poem was greatly esteemed by the ancients, is said to have been translated into Latin verse by Cicero, and is quoted by the

of study ; and on this he read Cicero's Offices, Paradoxes, and Tusculan Questions, the Ethics and Politics of Aristotle, and certain Dialogues of Plato. In Natural Philosophy, he made use of Fernelius, and commented on parts of the writings of Aristotle and Plato. To these he added a view of Universal History, with Chronology, and the progress of the Art of Writing. Entering upon the duties of his own immediate profession, he taught the Hebrew language, first more cursorily, by going over the elementary work of Martinus, and afterwards by a more accurate examination of its principles, accompanied with a praxis upon the Psalter and books of Solomon. He then initiated the students into Chaldee and Syriac ; reading those parts of the books of Ezra and Daniel that are written in Chaldee, and the epistle to the Galatians in the Syriac version.

apostle Paul (who was a countryman of the author) in Acts xvii. 28. Aratus, who was both a poet and an astronomer, flourished about the year 270 A. C.

The *Cosmographia* of John Honter was written in Latin verse, and accompanied with maps. He was a celebrated teacher in Transylvania, his native country. David Chytræus visited his academy during his travels in 1569, and speaks in terms of high commendation of his talents, and the utility of his writings. (*Chytræi Orationes*, p. 411. Hanov. 1614.)

The attempts to facilitate the study of the sciences by the aid of poetry have been numerous. There is a curious specimen of this kind in a Greek poem on Law, written in the middle ages : *Συνεχὴς καὶ ῥυθμὸς* : seu Michaelis Pselli Compendium Legum, versibus Iambis et Politicis ; published by Francis Bosquet, in 1632, with a Latin translation.—With the same view, Francesco Berlinghieri composed his *Geografia*, published with maps at Florence, in 1480. (Roscoe's Lorenzo de Medici, vol. ii. p. 112.)

He also went through all the common heads of Divinity according to the order of Calvin's Institutions, and gave lectures on the different books of Scripture\*.

This course of study was completed in six years. From the variety of subjects which it embraced, and the number of books read and commented on, some idea may be formed of the extent of his erudition, and the greatness of his labours. On the second year, his nephew, James Melville, began a class, which he instructed in Greek, logic, and rhetoric; and on the following year taught them mathematics and moral philosophy. He was the first regent in Scotland who read the Greek authors with his class in the original language. A sufficient number of regents being obtained, Melville introduced a new regulation as to their mode of teaching. It was the established and invariable practice, in all the universities at that time, for the regent who began a class to continue with it, and to conduct his students through the whole course of studies, until he had prepared them for laureation at the end of four years. Melville was under the necessity of adhering to this practice at his first coming to Glasgow, but he was fully convinced of its tendency to obstruct the advancement of learning, and embraced the first opportunity of abolishing it. Accordingly, in the year 1577, Blaise Laurie was established permanent teacher of Greek and of Roman Eloquence: James

\* Melville's Diary, pp. 39, 40.

Melville of Mathematics, Logic, and Moral Philosophy; and Peter Blackburn of Physics and Astronomy; while the Principal confined himself to Divinity and the Oriental Languages. About the time that Melville left Glasgow, the Principal was relieved from a part of his extensive duty by the appointment of a separate teacher of Hebrew \*. The advantages arising from the introduction of the division of labour into the teaching of the sciences are so apparent, and are now so generally recognized, that it is quite unnecessary to state them.

Enthusiastically attached to the profession which he had chosen, and eager to raise the literary character of his native country to the same rank with that of other nations, Melville soon infused a portion of his ardour into the breasts of his scholars. By the time that he finished his second session, his fame had spread through the kingdom, students came from all quarters to hear his lectures, and numbers who had taken their degrees at St. Andrews matriculated at Glasgow; so that the class-rooms, which had so lately been empty, could not contain those who sought for admission. "I dare say there was no place in Europe (says James Melville) comparable to Glasgow for good letters, during these years—for a plentiful and good cheap market of all kinds of languages, arts, and sciences †."

A number of individuals who afterwards distinguished themselves, were educated under Melville

\* Annales Fac. Art. Glas. Melville's Diary, p. 44.

† Melville's Diary, p. 39.

during the short period of his residence at Glasgow. Among these were Patrick Melville, one of his nephews, who became Professor of Hebrew, first at Glasgow, and afterwards at St. Andrews; Andrew Knox, who was successively Bishop of the Isles, and of Raphoe in Ireland; Duncan Nairn, who was selected as the best qualified for being the first professor in the College of Edinburgh under Principal Rollock; Archbishop Spotswood; Sir Edward Drummond, Sir Gideon Murray, and Sir James Fullerton, who became courtiers to James VI.; and Sir Adam Newton, who, after teaching in his native country and abroad, was appointed tutor and afterwards secretary to Henry, Prince of Wales\*.

In the year 1577, Melville obtained from the Regent a valuable benefaction to the university. This was the living of Govan, in the vicinity of Glasgow, valued at twenty-four chalders of victual annually, although only a small portion of this could be realized for a number of years. Along with this donation, a new foundation, commonly called the *Nova Erectio*, was given to the college by royal charter. It is unnecessary to specify its enactments, as it sanctioned all the arrangements which Melville had already introduced, as to the branches of learning to be taught, and the division of them among the several professors. The number of per-

\* "Patricius Melvin," and "Edward Drummond" were laureated in 1578; "Andreas Knox" in 1579; "Duncanus Nairn" in 1580; "Gideon Murray, Johannes Spotswood, Jacobus Fullertoun" in 1581; and "Adam Newtoun" in 1582. (*Annales Fac. Art. Glasg.*)

sons now entitled to maintenance from the funds was twelve, including masters and bursars. The other students either paid for their board at the college-table, or lodged at their own expense in the town. In consequence of the new foundation, it became the duty of the Principal to preach on Sabbath at the Church of Govan\*.

It was not by his public instructions only that Melville promoted the cause of literature. He was of a communicative disposition, and equally qualified and disposed for imparting knowledge by private conversation. This appeared in his intercourse with his colleagues, and at the college table, to which such individuals of education as resided in Glasgow and its neighbourhood frequently resorted to partake of a frugal meal, that they might share in the literary desert which was always served up along with it. His conversation was enlivened with amusing anecdotes, smart apophthegms, and classical quotations and allusions. He was fond of discussing literary questions, and had a singular faculty of throwing light on them in the easy and unceremonious form of table-talk. This made the master of the grammar school, who was afterwards Principal of the college, to say of these literary conversations, "that he learned more of Mr. Andrew Melville, cracking and playing, for understanding of the authors which he taught in the school, than by

\* Melville's Diary, p. 43, 44. The *Nova Erectio* is printed in Memorial for Dr. Trail, anno 1771.

all the commentators \*." In these academical recreations, philosophical were mixed with literary topics. Blackburn, the regent who taught the first class at Melville's coming to Glasgow, was a good man, and far from being unlearned, according to the means of instruction then enjoyed in Scotland, but unacquainted with the world, and consequently dogmatical, and rude in his manners. He was a great stickler for the infallibility of Aristotle as a philosopher, and adhered rigidly to the maxim, *Absurdum est dicere Aristotelem errasse*, which nobody had yet ventured to contradict at St. Andrew's, where he had taken his degrees†. When the subject was started at the college table, Melville vigorously opposed this sentiment, and produced from the writings of the Stagyrice examples of error that were quite incontrovertible. Being incapable of maintaining his ground by argument, Blackburn was apt to grow angry, and to have recourse to personal reflections, alleging that the Principal was proud, arrogant, full of his own opinions, and disposed to set himself up against all the world. Whenever Melville perceived this, he dropt the dispute, without making any reply. By this means he gained upon his colleague, who, feeling himself reprov'd and overcome, gradually cor-

\* Melville's Diary, p. 40.

† Peter Blackburn afterwards became minister of Aberdeen, and was made bishop of that diocese in the beginning of the 17th century.



rected his rude behaviour, and at last became as forward as any in acknowledging the obligations he owed to the Principal\*.

We are not however to conclude from this, that Melville was disposed to sacrifice his sentiments to courtesy and the mere love of peace, or to yield them up in silence to any who chose to oppose them from humour or prejudice. He had higher notions of the rights of truth; and when called upon to act in defence of these, and especially when convinced that they were inseparably connected with the public good, he was ever ready to exert in their maintenance all the energy of his talents, and all the fervour of his feelings. On controverted subjects he was patient in his inquiries after the truth; and until his judgment was satisfied, he reasoned with great coolness, and listened with the utmost attention to whatever could be urged against the side to which he might incline. But when he had examined his ground, and was fully convinced of any truth and of its importance, he was accustomed to maintain it tenaciously and boldly; would suffer no man, whatever his rank or authority might be, to bear away the point in dispute; but defended his opinions with an overwhelming force and fluency of language, accompanied with uncommon energy of voice and vehemence of gesture. Nor was he a less persevering than ardent advocate of the cause which he espoused. He was not discouraged by ill

\* Melville's Diary, pp. 40, 51.

success, but returned to the charge with unabated ardour; and wherever an opportunity presented itself, in private or in public, he plied his opponents with arguments, until he either made converts of them, or judged them to be obstinately wedded to their own opinions. It was in this way that he gained over so many of his countrymen to his views, on the questions which were agitated respecting the government and liberties of the church. "But for his own particular, (says his nephew,) in person, geir, or fame, I knew him never heard in publick with any man to this hour\*." In this light is his character presented to us, by one who had at least every advantage for observing it narrowly. We shall have various opportunities of ascertaining how far it is correct, and in what degree that temper and behaviour, which a warm friend may be supposed to have regarded with a partial eye, calls for our censure or merits our applause.

According to his nephew's statement, Melville was a believer in Oneirology, and expert in the interpretation of dreams. Some of the examples adduced in proof of this, however, would rather incline us to think that he amused himself by a playful exercise of ingenuity instead of pretending to skill in this occult science†. James Melville does more honour to him when he praises his sagacity in discerning the characters of men; and he has

\* Melville's Diary, p. 52.

† See Note O.

certainly produced instances in which the opinions which he pronounced on individuals of his acquaintance was strikingly verified by their subsequent behaviour. One of these occurred at this period, and relates to a person of considerable notoriety in the history of these times. John Colville, being called before the synod of Glasgow for deserting his ministry at Kilbride, made such a plausible apology for his conduct as imposed on all the members. Melville alone suspected his sincerity, and interrogating him closely, received such answers as induced him to tell his brethren, that he would not be surprised to see that man renounce the profession of the ministry, and of Christianity itself\*. Colville soon after exchanged the character of the preacher for that of the courtier. Disappointed of his expectations at court, he joined in the insurrections of the turbulent Earl of Bothwell. Being driven out of the kingdom along with that nobleman, he professed himself a Roman Catholic, and became a keen writer against the Protestant religion†. And all his tergiversations, political and religious, were marked by uncommon want of principle‡. I mention this trait in Melville's character the rather, because there is nothing which men bred in

\* Melville's Diary, p. 80.

† The Parane, or Admonition to his Countrymen when he returned to the Catholic Religion, by Mr. John Colville. Paris, 1662. He had published this work in Latin during the preceding year.

‡ He gave a most singular proof of this, in a work entitled *The Pallade*, (Edinb. 1600.) which he represents as a refutation of a treatise of his own against James's title to the crown of England,

colleges, and devoted to literary pursuits, are more deficient in than the knowledge of character; in consequence of which they are ordinarily disqualified for the management of public business, and apt to become the dupes of deceitful friends or artful opponents.

As Principal, it was Melville's duty to take an active part in the government of the college. Discipline was then exercised with a great deal more strictness in colleges than it is now. This necessarily arose from the peculiar constitution of such societies, composed of young men, chiefly boys, who did not, as at present, assemble for a few hours every day to receive instruction, but lived constantly together in the same house. While questions of a civil or criminal nature which arose in the college were decided by the rector and his council, it belonged to the principal to preserve common order among the students, and to keep them in due subjection to their respective regents. At his installation he received "power to use scholastical correction and discipline," and, as the badge of this, he had delivered to him "the belt of correction, with the keys of the college\*." Accordingly, it was the

which, "in malice, in time of his exile, he had penned." Yet he had penned no such treatise, but merely pretended this to ingratiate himself with James by a feigned recantation. (Spotsw. 457.) Charters mentions another work by Colville: "*Oratio Funebris Exequiis Elizabethæ destinata*. Paris, 1604." (Lives of Scottish Writers, MS. in Advocates' Library.)

\* Presentation of Mr. James Wilkie to be principal of St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews, in the room of Mr. George Buchanan,

custom for the Principal to inflict corporal chastisement, *propria manu*, upon delinquents, in the presence of the masters and students assembled in the common hall. Melville devolved this disagreeable task on the regents\*; but it was still an indispensable part of his duty to give judgment in cases which came before him by complaint or reference.

John Maxwell, son to Lord Herreis, was drawn away from his studies, and involved in disorderly practices, in consequence of a connection he had formed with Andrew Heriot, the dissolute heir of an opulent citizen. His regent having reported his misbehaviour and disobedience, the Principal rebuked the young nobleman sharply, before the whole college, for misspending his time, and disgracing his birth, by associating with idle and debauched company. Irritated by this public censure, Maxwell retired into the town, and, along with Heriot, gave himself up to the management of certain individuals

April 15, 1570; and Admission of Mr. Andrew Bruce to the same office in 1630: Papers of St. Leonard's College.

\* Robert Boyd of Trochrig, when admitted Principal of the college of Edinburgh in 1622, protested before the Town Council that he should not be bound to administer corporal correction, which he considered as unbecoming the dignity of the station. He had declined it (he said) when Principal of the College of Montauban in France, and of Glasgow, although he acknowledges it was the accustomed duty of the Principal. His predecessor at Glasgow (Patrick Sharp) had performed it; but he alleges that this was owing to its having been "his wonted custome, whereunto he was inured in the grammar school, wherefra he was taken to be Principal of the College." (Life of Robert Boyd, p. 84—100. Wodrow MSS. vol. v. Bibl. Col. Glas.)

who were hostile to the college, and anxious to involve it in a quarrel with the inhabitants. Having collected a number of lewd and disorderly persons, Heriot threw himself in the way of the masters and students, as they were returning one day from church, and followed them until they entered the college, brandishing a drawn sword in the Principal's face, and making use of the most opprobrious and provoking language. Melville bore this insult with the utmost patience, and exerted his authority in restraining the students, who burned with desire to revenge the affront offered to their master \*. Lord Herreis, having heard of his son's misconduct, came to Glasgow, and obliged him, on his knees and in the open court of the college, to beg pardon of the Principal, whose forbearance he highly commended. Heriot was soon after seized with a dangerous illness; during which Melville, at his desire, waited on him, assured him that he had forgotten the late injury, and did every thing in his power to sooth the last moments of the unhappy young man †.

But though he was disposed to overlook personal

\* "The schollars war out of thair wittes, and fain wald haiff put hands on him (Heriot); but he (the Principal) rebuked tham in sic sort that they durst not steir. As for myself, for als patient as I am called, I doucht not suffer it, bot withdrew myself from him." James Melville relates the story as one proof, among many others, that although his uncle was "verie hot in all (public) questions, yet when it twiched his particular, no man could crab him, contrar to the common custom." (Diary p. 50.)

† Ibid.

injuries, and shewed a due regard to public peace, he knew how to support the authority of his office; and when he perceived that the credit of the University was at stake, or that it was intended to intimidate him from executing the laws, he discovered the native resolution and intrepidity of his character. I shall give an instance of this, which throws light on the manners of the age, and derives interest from the relation it bears to a young gentleman who afterwards attracted considerable notice, both as a military and a literary adventurer. *Mark Alexander Boyd*, was the younger son of Robert Boyd of Pinkhill, and a near relation of Lord Boyd, the favourite of the Regent Morton \*. Having lost his father at an early period of his life, he was placed under the care of his uncle, the archbishop of Glasgow, for the sake of his education. Young Boyd evinced spirit and genius, but accompanied with a headstrong and ungovernable temper. He had created much vexation to the master of the grammar-school, and to the first regent under whom he studied at college. When he entered the second class, James Melville, who taught it, told him that such practices as he understood him to have indulged in would not be tolerated. The admonition had the desired effect for some time, but at length the impression of it wore off, and Boyd received the castigation of which he had been forewarned, and

\* *Life of Mark Alexander Boyd*, by Lord Hailes. *Sibbald's Prodromus Nat. Hist. Scotiæ*, P. ii. lib. 3. pp. 2—4. Sibbald had heard in general of the incident related in the text, but was unacquainted with the particulars.

which his behaviour merited. Upon this the affronted stripling resolved to be revenged. Having pricked his face with his writing instruments, and besmeared it with the blood which he drew, he presented himself before his friends in this guise, with loud complaints of the cruel treatment which he had received from his regent. The Principal and Professors investigated the affair, and easily detected the trick which had been played. But the relations of the young man having foolishly taken his part, he not only absented himself from the college, but determined to have still ampler revenge. In concert with his cousin, Alexander Cunninghame, a near relation of the Earl of Glencairn, he way-laid the regent in the church-yard as he was returning one evening to the college. Boyd came behind him with a baton, but retreated when the regent, who had perceived his tread, turned round. Cunninghame then rushed forward with a drawn sword ; but the regent, though unarmed, being an expert fencer, declined the thrust aimed at him, seized the sword-arm of the assailant, and wresting the weapon from his hand, detained him a prisoner. The rector and the magistrates of the city were of opinion that this outrage could not be passed over without injuring the peace and credit of the College, and decreed that Alexander Cunninghame should come to the place where he had committed the offence, bare-headed and bare-footed, and there crave pardon of the University and of the regent whom he had assaulted. Encouraged by his friends he refused to submit to



this sentence ; and nothing was to be heard in the town and country but loud threatenings that the Boyds and Cunninghames would burn the college and kill the professors. Disregarding these threats, Melville summoned the offender before the Privy Council, went himself to St. Andrews to prosecute the cause, and, notwithstanding the powerful interest with which he had to contend, obtained a decree, ordaining Alexander Cunninghame to obey the sentence of the University and Town Council against a certain day, or else enter as a prisoner into the castle of Blackness \*. Andrew Hay, the rector, a man of great prudence and knowledge of the country, was of opinion that the college should not insist on the execution of this decree ; as the pride of the families concerned would not suffer them quietly to see their relation make such a humiliating acknowledgment, and it was to be feared that the affair would not terminate without bloodshed. To this advice the Principal peremptorily refused to yield. " If they would have forgiveness (said he) let them crave it humbly, and they shall have it ; but ere this preparative pass, that we dare not correct our scholars for fear of bangsters and clanned gentlemen, they shall have all the blood of my body first."

On the day appointed for making the submission, Lord Boyd came to Glasgow accompanied by his friends, and the Earl of Glencairn by his, to the

\* See Note P.

number of between four and five hundred gentlemen. The members of the University being assembled in the College-hall, attempts were made to deter them from appearing at the appointed place, by persons who professed to act as mediators. "They that will go with me (exclaimed Melville) let them go; and they that are afraid, let them tarry." And setting out instantly, he was followed by the rector, regents, and students, in their gowns. The church-yard was filled with gentlemen in armour, who, however, gave way, and allowed the procession from the college to advance to the spot where the assault was made. Alexander Cunninghame, with his head uncovered, but in other respects richly dressed, now came forward supported by two of his friends, and, with an air and tone very different from those of a penitent, said he was ready to make his submission, provided there were any present who were ready to accept it. "Doubt not of that; we are ready," replied Melville. This bold reply completely deranged the plans of the cabal, whose object it was to make a show of willingness to obey the order of the Privy Council, but at the same time to intimidate the College from requiring it. Accordingly, after a short pause, the culprit found himself obliged to begin his confession, which he went through in every article, conformably to the original sentence, in the presence of his friends convened from all parts of the country. When the ceremony was over, the Principal and his company left the church-yard in the same manner as they had entered it,

without meeting with the slightest insult or interruption. And the gentlemen, after spending a considerable sum of money in the town, returned home, as some of them expressed themselves, "greater fools than they came \*."

We must not omit to notice a charge brought against Melville, which relates to the period of which we are now writing. It is said that he was accessory to "a little disturbance" which took place in Glasgow. "By the earnest dealing of Mr. Andrew Melville and other ministers," the magistrates agreed to demolish the Cathedral, as a monument of idolatry, and to build a number of small churches with its materials. But the trades of the city, resenting this, rose in a tumult, and forcibly prevented the workmen from proceeding. The ringleaders of the riot were summoned before the Privy Council, when the king, not then thirteen years of age, took their part, and told the ministers engaged in the prosecution, "that too many churches had already been destroyed, and that he would not tolerate more abuses in that kind †." This statement rests solely upon the authority of Bishop Spotswood. I never met with any thing in the public or private writings of Melville, or of any minister contemporary with him, that gives the smallest ground for the conclusion, that they looked upon cathedral churches as monuments of idolatry, or that they would have advised

\* Melville's Diary, pp. 52—55.

† Spotswood, Hist. p. 304.

their demolition on this ground. The records of the Town Council of Glasgow and of the Privy Council are totally silent as to the alleged order and riot; a silence which it is extremely difficult to account for, on the supposition that the bishop has given a correct report of the affair. It appears from the most satisfactory documents, that the magistrates and ministers of Glasgów, so far from wishing to pull down the cathedral, were anxious to uphold and repair it, that they made repeated representations to the King and Privy Council on this head, and that, though the burden of the work did not legally fall on them, they voluntarily and zealously contributed for carrying it into execution\*. I think it highly probable, that any disturbance which may have furnished the ground-work of the statement under examination, was occasioned by an order, not for demolishing, but for repairing the Cathedral; and that the craftsmen were aggrieved at some encroachment upon their rights, real or supposed, in the mode of reparation.

During the second year of his residence at Glasgow, Melville received from Geneva his library, consisting of an ample collection of books in various languages and on all sciences, which he had purchased while he remained on the Continent†. This was the treasure on which he set the highest value. Though the reverse of parsimonious in every other article, he does not appear to have been fond

\* See Note Q.

† Melville's Diary, pp. 36. 41.

of making presents of his books\*; he was even cautious in lending them; and when forced to fly from home, one of the first objects of his solicitude, and of his strict injunctions, was the securing of his library †. Before its arrival at this time he must have felt severely the want of books. For this commodity was then exceedingly rare in Scotland; nor was there any thing in which our universities were more poorly provided ‡.

About this time, Melville's first publication, which was printed abroad, made its appearance in Scotland. It consisted of a poetical paraphrase of the Song of Moses, and of a part of the Book of Job, with several smaller poems; all in Latin §. This

\* I have not found his name among those of his learned contemporaries who made donations of this kind to the Universities of Glasgow and St. Andrews.

† Melvini Epistolæ, p. 89, 295, 306.

‡ See Note R.

§ James Melville speaks of this work as if it had been first published in 1578. Diary, p. 49. But I have now before me a copy of the very rare original edition, communicated by Mr. David Laing, whose extensive acquaintance with Scottish bibliography has often been of great service to me. The following is the title of the work:

"Carmen Mosis, Ex Deuteron. Cap. xxxii. quod ipse moriens Israël tradidit ediscendum & cantandum perpetuò, latina paraphrasi illustratum. Cui addita sunt nonnulla Epigrammata, & Iobi Cap. iiii. latino carmine redditum. Andrea Melvino Scoto Avctore. Basilæ M. D. LXXXIII." 8vo. pp. 16.

The manuscript of this work was, it is probable, left on the Continent by the author, when he returned to Scotland. But one, at least, of the epigrams (that on the death of Charles IX.) must have been transmitted to the printer by Melville, after his arrival in Britain. (See above, p. 56.)—In the inventory of books belonging to Thomas Bassinden, printer in Edinburgh, inserted in his Testament Testamentar, is the following article; "Itē xlviii carmen

publication gained him great reputation among the learned, who eagerly expected that he would undertake a work of greater extent, which might prove a durable monument of his talents. He excused himself for declining this, by pleading that there were already too many writers who courted the public favour, and that it was his duty to devote his attention to the task of education, which he regarded as the great business of his life. Accordingly, he checked instead of encouraging the inclination to write for the press, confining himself to occasional pieces, epigrams, and other light effusions of the muse, in which he indulged for his own amusement and the gratification of his private friends\*.

The *Carmen Mosis* is unquestionably the finest poem in the collection, or perhaps of any that Melville wrote. It is worthy of the scholar of Buchanan, and deserves a place among the productions of those modern writers who have attained great excellence in Latin poetry. The author did not propose to transfuse the peculiar beauties of the original into his paraphrase. The different genius of the two species of poetry rendered this impracticable. Its merits must therefore be estimated according to the principles of Latin and not of Hebrew poetry. The language is classically pure, and

moyses, y<sup>o</sup> dosane xviii<sup>a</sup>. summa vis." There can be no doubt that this is Melville's work: Bassinden died 18th October, 1577. (Commissary Records of Edinburgh.)

\* Melville's Diary, p. 49.

at the same time not unsuited to the sacredness of the theme ; the versification is correct and smooth ; and the imagery is managed with boldness and delicacy. The exordium, though it does not express the inimitable simplicity and majesty of the original, is lofty and beautiful.

Vos æterni ignes, et conscia lumina mundi,  
 Palantesque polo flammæ ; vos humida regna  
 Aerique super tractus, campique jacentes,  
 Et cœlum et tellus (ego vos nunc alloquor) aures  
 Arrigite : et celsas dicenti advertite mentes.  
 Qualis rore fluens gemmanti argenteus imber  
 Plurimus, aristas maturis solibus agros  
 Temperat undanti rivo ; glebasque subactas  
 Evocat in florem, et viridantes elicit herbas ;  
 Instauratque novos opulenti ruris honores.  
 Talis ab ore fluit sacro vis lactea fandi :  
 Tale polo veniens numeris liquentibus aureum  
 Divitis eloquii flumen manabit in artus,  
 Ossaque, perque imos sensus, perque alta pererrans  
 Pectora, nectareos læto feret ubere fructus,  
 Et gazam ætherea cumulabit messe perennem.  
 Quippe Dei pango nomen : cœlique verendum  
 Concelebro numen : vos ergo Dei venerandum  
 Et nomen celebrate, et numen pangite nostri.

The description of the eagle's teaching her young to fly, by which the divine care exercised about Israel is illustrated, is also extremely beautiful.

Ac velut alituum princeps, fulvusque Tonantis  
 Armiger, implumes et adhuc sine robore nidos  
 Sollicita refovet cura, pinguisque ferinæ  
 Indulget pastus, mox ut cum viribus alæ  
 Vesticipes crevere, vocat si blandior aura,  
 Expansa invitat pluma : dorsoque morantes

Excipit, attollitque humeris : plaususque secundo  
 Fertur in arva, timens oneri natat impete presso,  
 Remigium lentans alarum : incurvaque pinnis  
 Vela legens, humilesque tranat sub nubibus oras.  
 Hinc sensim supera alta petit : jam jamque sub astra  
 Erigitur : cursusque leves citus urget in auras,  
 Omnia pervolitans late loca : et agmine foetus  
 Fertque refertque suos vario : moremque volandi  
 Addocet. Illi autem longa assuetudine docti  
 Paulatim incipiunt pennis se credere caelo  
 Impavidi. Tantum a teneris valet addere curam.

The smaller poems consist of commendatory verses to the memory of Admiral Coligni and other Protestants who perished in the massacres of France, and of satirical invectives against the tyrannical and cruel policy of the individuals who planned these detestable scenes \*. The dedication of the work to the young king is happily conceived and expressed.

Extremæ spes sera plagæ, lux aurea gentis  
 Arctœ, et sæcli solque jubarque tui.  
 Tot sceptris atavorum ingens, ingentior alta  
 Indole, quam tollit religionis honos,  
 Sancte puer, cape sacra meæ primordia musæ,  
 Non secus ac grati prima elementa animi.  
 Parva quidem tanto, fateor, munuscula Regi:  
 Parva, sed immenai munere magna Dei.  
 Ipse tibi majora dabis nostro auspice Phœbo :  
 Forsan et auspiciis nos meliora tuis †.

\* Two of these have already been given. See above, p. 51. Some of them are introduced into a valuable work, entitled, " *Memoires de l'Estat de France sous Charles IX.*" Tom. i. p. 571, b. 574. A Meidelborg, 1678.

† Below the dedication, in the copy of the book which I have used, a few lines in praise of Buchanan have been written with a pen. They are not in Melville's hand-writing, but, from their having been



The whole of this work was deemed worthy of a place in the selection of Latin poetry by Scotsmen, published at a subsequent period under the direction of Arthur Johnston \*.

introduced here, it is probable that he was considered as the author of them. I have not observed that they have been printed.

Geo. Buchan. Scotus,

Vir Excellentiss.

Clarus in Historiæ campo, clarusque Poesi,

Nomen ad æternos fers, Buchanane, dies.

Scotia luce tua perfusa celebrior audet,

Rex disciplinæ gaudet honore tuæ.

Maximus es meritis. Quid Patria Rexve rependet,

Quando tuis meritis hic sit et illa minor?

\* Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum, tom. ii.

## CHAPTER III.

1574—1580.

*INTEREST which Melville took in Public Affairs—His Connection with the Church—Character of the Regent Morton—State of Ecclesiastical Affairs at his Return to Scotland—Convention at Leith—Tulchan Episcopacy—Not Approved by the General Assembly—Consequences of its Obtrusion—Melville sits in the General Assembly—Episcopacy Attacked—Speech of Melville on that Occasion—Discussions on this Subject—Episcopacy Condemned—Proceedings with the Bishops—Preparation of the Second Book of Discipline—Grounds of Opposition to it on the part of the Court and Nobility—Approved by the General Assembly—Outline of it—Melville Charged with bringing the Geneva Discipline into Scotland—Degree in which the Overthrow of Episcopacy was owing to him—Remarks on his Conduct in that Affair—His Behaviour to Archbishop Boyd—Conduct of Adamson—the Regent endeavours to gain Melville—Proposes sending Him to a General Council in Germany—Interview between them—Changes in the Political Administration—Death of the Chancellor Glamis—The Young King shows himself favourable to the Proceedings of the Church—Measures of the General Assembly for Promoting Learning—Proposal to bring Learned Printers into the Country—Scottish Edition of the Bible—Proposed Reformation of the Universities—Melville's Translation from Glasgow to St. Andrews.*

**H**ITHERTO we have considered Melville chiefly as a literary character: we must now contemplate him

in a different light. His immediate object in returning to Scotland was to assist in the revival of its literature, and not to take part in the management of its public affairs. But he did not think that the attention which he was called on to give to the former necessarily required that he should be altogether indifferent to the latter. He had embraced an academical life from choice; and the situation in which he was placed afforded sufficient gratification to his taste, and ample employment to his time and talents. But partial as he was to literary pursuits, he was not a mere academic, whose ideas are all confined within the cloistered walls of his college. He was a citizen as well as a man of letters. From constitution and from education he felt a lively interest in the welfare of his native country, and of his native church, to whose bosom he had returned after a long absence, and to whose benefit he had consecrated his gifts and his labours.

His right to take a share in ecclesiastical managements did not rest merely on his personal gifts, or on the common interest which all the members of a society have in its welfare. He was officially connected with the Church of Scotland. During the three last years of his residence in Glasgow he officiated as minister of the church of Govan \*. But although this was the only period of his life in which he acted as the pastor of a particular congregation, yet he all along held a public situation in

\* See above, p. 71.

the church as a professor of divinity. Those who taught theology in colleges were considered as belonging to the order of doctors, and under this name were recognized as ecclesiastical office-bearers from the beginning of the Reformation in Scotland. Besides the general superintendence which the church-courts exercised over all the seminaries of instruction, founded on the connection between religion and education, they took a special cognizance of the divinity-classes, as the immediate nurseries of the ministry ; and the teachers of these, if not formally installed by their authority, were at least admitted with their approbation and consent. The professors of divinity had not the power of dispensing the sacraments, unless they were also pastors ; but they were entitled to perform all the other parts of the pastoral function. Besides preaching in public, they sat in the church courts, and took part in the determination of religious controversies and the exercise of ecclesiastical discipline. And this they had a right to do in respect of their office as interpreters of Scripture, and their having the oversight of seminaries which formed an integral and important part of the general church. At first, when there was no fixed rule as to the constituent members of the General Assembly, they attended the meetings of that judicatory as they found opportunity ; but afterwards, when a regular plan of delegation was organized, they were chosen and sat as commissioners, either from the universities in which they taught, or from the provincial synods or presbyte-

ries within whose bounds they resided, and of which they were ordinary members\*.

It was necessary to make this statement of Melville's right to act in the affairs of the church, because, at a subsequent period, when the Court wished to get rid of his powerful opposition to its measures, his right was called in question, and it was alleged that he had been admitted to a seat in the church-courts through oversight, or at best, from indulgence or courtesy. Nor is there any ground for the insinuation, that by moving out of his place, and intruding into one foreign to his calling, he excited prejudices against his professorial character and marred his literary usefulness. To such a charge he is not obnoxious, unless it can be shown that he neglected his duties in the college, or conducted himself improperly in the ecclesiastical assemblies;—faults which the lay-delegates from universities were equally liable to commit.

To enable the reader to judge of the public transactions in which Melville took such an active part, it will be necessary to give a short view of the state of the country and of the affairs of the church when he returned to Scotland.

The young king was still a minor; and James, Earl of Morton, exercised the supreme authority, to which he had been raised on the death of the former regent, the Earl of Mar. By his vigorous

\* Buik of the Universal Kirk, f. 60, b. Dunlop's Collect. of Confessions, vol. ii. pp. 409, 773. Cald. MS. vol. ii. pp. 432, 464.

measures, Morton had suppressed the party attached to Queen Mary ; and, having put an end to the civil war which continued during the government of his predecessors, he exerted himself in curbing the lawlessness of the nobles, and in settling a regular administration of justice through the kingdom. Unhappily, the success of this wise and salutary policy was counteracted, partly by the vices of the regent's character, and partly by the circumstances in which he found himself placed. His ambition was equalled by his avarice, and to gratify these passions, he did not scruple on some occasions to trample both on law and humanity. The revenues of the church tempted his cupidity, and as the sacredness of that fund had been already violated, he looked to it as the most convenient source of enriching himself and increasing the number of his dependants. The irregularities of his private life made him dread the reproofs and censures of the preachers. And the dependance which he had on Elizabeth conspired with his love of power in inducing him to seek the suppression of the liberties of the church, and to bring it as nearly as possible to a conformity, in point of government, with the church of England.

It has been shewn elsewhere, that the church of Scotland, from the beginning of the Reformation, did not acknowledge any permanent ecclesiastical office superior to that of the pastor ; that the employment of superintendents was a provisional and temporary expedient, adopted to supply the defi-

ciency of ministers; that the superintendents possessed no episcopal authority, in the common acceptation of that term; that they were ordained in the same manner as other pastors, and derived the special powers with which they were invested from the general assemblies of the church, to which they were made accountable at every meeting for all their managements \*. At the establishment of the Reformation, the popish prelates, secular and regular, were allowed to retain the greater part of their revenues; and they continued to occupy their seats in parliament, to which they were entitled, in the eye of the law, equally as other lords, as long as their baronial benefices were not taken from them by the state. Some of them embraced the reformed doctrines, but even these did not represent the Protestant church in parliament; and if they exercised any ecclesiastical authority, it was not in the character of bishops, but in consequence of their having been admitted into the ministry, or of their having received a specific commission to that purpose from the General Assembly †. This observation may be applied to Deaneries, Rectories, and inferior livings. With the exception of the third part, the incumbents enjoyed their benefices; and, upon joining

\* *Life of John Knox*, vol. ii. pp. 7. 283—285.

† In 1562, Alexander Gordon, bishop of Galloway, wished to be made superintendent of the province in which his diocese lay; but was refused by the General Assembly. (*Knox, Historie*, p. 327. *Keith's Scottish Bishops*, p. 146.) He was afterwards employed as a visitor.

the Protestant church, they were admitted ministers, if found qualified, according to the ordinary forms. In this case, the rank which they had held in the popish church, and the benefices which they continued to enjoy, gave them no precedence or superiority to their brethren; although they might still be called by their old titles in the way of courtesy, or from the power of custom \*.

In this state matters continued until the year 1571, when it became necessary to fill several prelacies become vacant by the death or the forfeiture of the incumbents. The church had already expressed her judgment on the subject, both in the

\* In the General Assembly held December, 1562, the Bishop of Galloway was enrolled after the superintendents, under this designation, "Mr. Alexander Gordon, *entitled Bishop of Galloway.*" (Crawford's MS. History of the Church, vol. i. p. 88.)—"30 Dec. 1567. Auent the mariage of the Queine with the Esle of Bothwell be Adam callit Bischop of Orknay, the haill kirk finds that he transgrest the act of the kirk in marieing the divorcit adulterer. And therfor depyryis him fra all function of the ministrie," &c. (Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 36.) In the Assembly, March 1570, the same bishop (after his restoration) was accused that he "left the office of preaching, giving himself daily to the exercise of the office of a temporal judge, as a Lord of Session, which requireth the whole man, and so rightly no wise can exercise both; and stileth himself with Roman titles, as Reverend Father in God, which pertaineth to no ministers of Christ Jesus, nor is given them in Scriptures."—"To this last charge, the bishop answered, "With pardon and reverence of the Assembly, I may declare, I never delighted in such a stile, nor desired any such arrogant title; for I acknowledge myself to be a worm of the earth, not worthy any reverence, giving and attributing to my God only all honour, glory, and reverence with all humble submission." (Cald. MS. vol. ii. pp. 163, 166.)



Book of Discipline, and in representations repeatedly made to the Parliament and Privy Council, in which she craved that the bishoprics should be dissolved, and their revenues applied to the support of superintendents and ministers. But to this measure the regent and the greater part of the nobility were decidedly averse. Accordingly, the vacant bishoprics, and other great benefices, were bestowed on noblemen, who presented preachers to them, after they had taken care to secure to themselves a certain portion of their revenues.

These proceedings, as soon as they transpired, were protested against by the commissioners of the church, and they every where excited the greatest dissatisfaction \*. Had the church steadily resisted this scheme, and refused to admit the presentees, the patrons would have found themselves placed in a very awkward predicament; for the benefices could be held only by ecclesiastics, and the whole power of admission legally belonged to the superintendents and other ministers. To prevent them from adopting this course, measures of intimidation were first tried. The most resolute of their number were threatened with punishment; and an order was issued discharging the payment of the thirds of benefices to the collectors of the church †, in consequence of which

\* Barnstynae's Journal, pp. 254. 259. 285. Knox's Letter to the Assembly at Stirling, in Buik of Universall Kirk, p. 53. Hume of Godscroft, Hist. of Douglas and Angus, vol. ii. p. 217.

† Barnstynae, p. 278. Cald. MS. vol. ii. pp. 284. 295.

all the ministers were left at the mercy of the court for their stipends. But this harsh proceeding having increased instead of allaying the heats, recourse was next had to the arts of persuasion and address. The regent convened the superintendents and certain ministers at Leith, in January, 1572, to consult on the best method of composing the dissension which had arisen. This convention, after assuming to itself the powers of a general assembly, was prevailed on hastily to devolve the whole business on a few of its members, authorizing them to meet with such persons as should be appointed by the Privy Council, and ratifying whatever they might determine agreeably to their instructions.

The joint committee, which met in the course of the same month, came to a speedy agreement on the matters referred to them. They agreed that, "in consideration of the present time," the titles of archbishops and bishops, and the bounds of dioceses, should remain as heretofore, at least until the King's majority or until the Parliament should make a different arrangement; that such as were admitted to bishoprics should be of due age and scriptural qualifications; that they should be chosen by a chapter or assembly of learned ministers; and that they should have no greater jurisdiction than was already possessed by superintendents, but should be subject to the General Assemblies of the church in spiritual as they were to the King in temporal matters. They agreed that abbacies and priories should continue in like manner; that provision should be

made for the support of ministers in the churches attached to them; and that as abbots, priors, and commendators formed, along with bishops, the ecclesiastical estate in Parliament and in the College of Justice, their learning and ability should, before their election, be tried by the bishops of the respective provinces within which the monasteries were situated. They farther agreed, that inferior benefices should be conferred only on persons duly qualified and regularly admitted to the ministry; that the churches through the kingdom should be planted, residence secured, and pluralities prevented; and that the revenues of provostries, prebendaries, and chaplainries should be appropriated to the maintenance of bursars at grammar schools and universities. This agreement was immediately confirmed by the Regent and Council, who engaged to persuade the lay patrons of churches to conform to such of its regulations as concerned them\*.

Such was the new ecclesiastical constitution framed by the famous convention at Leith. It was a constitution of the most motley and heterogeneous kind; being made up of presbytery, episcopacy, and papal monkery. Viewed in one light, indeed, it might be deemed harmless. It made little or no

\* The act of the Privy Council appointing commissioners to meet with those of the Kirk, is dated January 16, 1571. (Records of Privy Council.) The act of the Convention of the Kirk, (Jan. 18, 1571,) appointing their committee, and the whole of the articles agreed on by the joint committee, are inserted in Cald. MS. vol. ii. pp. 310—325.

alteration on the established discipline of the church. The bishops were invested with no episcopal authority; and if unfit persons were admitted to the office, the General Assembly, to whose jurisdiction they were subjected, might suspend or depose them, and call the chapters to account for their irregular conduct. Nor were the monastic prelates, as such, entitled to a place in the church-courts. But, in another point of view, the innovations were real; and, had they been acquiesced in and ratified by the proper authority, they would have eventually overthrown the liberties of the church of Scotland. Even names and titles, empty as they are in themselves, have often great influence from the ideas which have been immemorably combined and associated with them. Limited as the power granted to bishops was, there was every reason to fear that, once admitted, they would make continual efforts to extend it, until they regained the original prerogatives of their order; and that the authority of the church-courts would prove too feeble for removing them, however unworthy, from their places, or for checking their encroachments, when abetted by nobles who were so deeply interested in their support. The neglect of discipline, or endless jarring in the exercise of it, was the inevitable consequence of the establishment of bishops and superintendents within the same provinces, who were clothed with co-ordinate and equal authority, but guided in their proceedings by distinct advisers and different pre-

cedents\*. By the regulations relating to abbots and priors, titles and dignities generated by the grossest superstition, and rendered odious by the support which they had uniformly given to papal corruption and tyranny, were recognized as in some sort pertaining to a church which boasted of having removed the slightest vestiges of popery†. The civil places of churchmen, which had always been condemned by our reformers, were sanctioned; and

\* "In Marche immediatlie following (the convention at Leith,) the Assemblie continuit still the superintendents, so that there was in on diocese ane Bishop and 3 Superintendents, quhill he maketh Bishops." (The Replye of ane Dotatist (&c) to Mr. Cowper his Dicaialogia, p. 27. MS. in Advocates Library. Comp. Cald. MS. vol. ii. p. 344.) Soon after John Douglas was made bishop of St. Andrews, John Winram came to be designed Superintendent of Strathearn, instead of Fife.

† The framers of the Articles of Leith appear to have been aware of this incongruity, and accordingly take care to express themselves in very general and guarded terms as to the qualifications of the candidate for this religious office. They merely say that the bishop of the province where the abbey or priory lies, shall "try and examinat his learning and abilitie." For the same reason they excluded entirely from their consideration the case of Nunneries, not knowing what place in the church to assign to the right reverend Abbesses and Prioresses, or how to examinat their learning and abilitie. But they were not overlooked by the Regent. There is a curious document with relation to them, after the death of Dame Christiane Ballenden, "Pfiotress of the Priorissie of the Senis besyde the burrowmure of Edin." "James erll of Mortone &c. understanding that in the convention of the Statis of yis realme consideratioun being had that the nunreis ar nocht meit to be conferrit and gevin to wemen according to the first foundatioun in tyme of ignorance," &c. appoints "capitane Ninian cockburne his heines chalmerlan and factor to the said priorissie of the Senis," &c. May 31, 1575. (Register of Privy Seal, vol. xliii. fol. 10.)

the church was to be represented in parliament and in the courts of justice, not only by bishops, but also by monkish prelates, over whom she had no direct control, and whose official names it would have been reckoned profane to introduce into the roll of her General Assembly. The design of securing the richest portion of the benefices to the court and its dependents, which gave rise to the whole scheme, and which is the only thing that can account for its strange incongruities, did not appear in any part of the details. This was tacitly understood, and left to be provided for by secret treaty between individual patrons and presentees. The calf's skin alone appeared: the straw with which the *tulchan* was stuffed was carefully concealed, lest the cow should have refused to give her milk\*.

This mongrel species of prelacy cannot meet the approbation of any true episcopalian. Certain eager advocates of primitive order and the uninterrupted succession of the hierarchy, have indeed persisted in maintaining that episcopacy always existed in Scotland, and in support of their plea have appealed to the settlement made at Leith; but they have generally shewn themselves reluctant and shy in claiming kindred with the *tulchan* prelates, whenever their true original and real condition have been fairly exposed. And, indeed, how could they ac-

\* In allusion to the custom in the Highlands of Scotland of placing a calf's skin stuffed with straw, called a *Tulchan*, before cows, to induce them to give their milk, those who occupied the episcopal office at this time were called *Tulchan Bishops*. (Cald. MS. ii. 340.)

knowledge as legitimate bishops men who possessed as little of the episcopal power as they did of the episcopal revenues, who were subject to the authority of an assembly composed of pretended presbyters and mere laics, by whom they were liable to be tried, censured, suspended, and deposed, and who, in one word, were utterly destitute of canonical consecration \* ?

The articles agreed on at Leith were laid before

\* It is proper, however, that facts should be stated ; and there are two which may be weighed by those who are disposed to lay stress on such things. 1. John Winram took part in the inauguration of John Douglas, as bishop of St. Andrews. Now, Winram was *popishly*, and in consequence *episcopally* and canonically ordained. He was, also Sub-prior of the Abbey of St. Andrews, and, as such, Vicar-General during the vacancy of the see. Will not these two circumstances, joined to the *tertium quid* of his being a superintendent, make him, if not *formaliter*, at least *virtualiter*, a Bishop ? 2. Robert Stewart, Bishop of Caithness, was present, and actually laid his hands on Douglas's head. (Bannatyne's Journal, p. 324.) Now, the most rigid canonists allow that the legal quorum of three may be dispensed with in a case of necessity. But there is one flaw remaining which cannot be so easily removed—the Bishop of Caithness himself, it seems, was *never consecrated*, nay, “ he never was in *priest's orders* ! ” (Keith's Catalogue of Scottish Bishops, p. 128.) The truth appears to be, that the Scots have always shewn a peculiar and constitutional incapacity for the difficult task of making bishops, and the work has never succeeded in their hands without assistance from York, Lambeth, or Rome. It is long since venerable Bede apologized for this by observing, that we did such things “ *more inusitato*.” A presbyterian may be allowed to smile on this subject, when even Keith, a bishop of the true stamp, and not over-given to be witty, could not help remarking, that “ it is a little diverting ” to observe a commission given to one who was not “ vested with any sacred character at all, to assist in the consecration of other men to the sacred office of Bishops.” (Catalogue, *ut supra*.)

the General Assembly which met at St. Andrews in March, and at Perth in August, 1572. At the last of these meetings, the Assembly, after hearing the report of a committee appointed to examine the subject, came to the following resolution: That the articles recognised certain names, such as archbishop, dean, archdean, chancellor, and chapter, which were thought slanderous and offensive to the ears of many of the brethren; therefore, the whole Assembly, as well those that were in commission at Leith as others, protest that they meant not, by using such names, to ratify, consent, and agree to, any kind of papistry or superstition, and wish rather the said names to be changed into others that are not slanderous and offensive; and in like manner protest, that the said heads and articles agreed on be received only as an *Interim*, till farther order may be obtained at the hands of the king's majesty, regent, and nobility, for which they will press as occasion shall serve. This declaration and protest the Assembly extended to the titles and functions of abbots and priors\*.

The evils which this new and insuspicious settlement was calculated to produce, were soon apparent to the most simple and unsuspecting. The sees were generally filled, as might have been anticipated, by persons who were unqualified, some by youth and others by extreme age, some by want of talent and

\* Buik of the Universall Kirk, f. 55. Cald. MS. vol. ii.



others by want of character \*. They incurred public odium by consenting to become the tools of the court, and by the simoniacal pactions which they were known or suspected to have made with those to whom they were indebted for their presentations. At every meeting of the General Assembly, complaints were made against them, or censures inflicted on them, for neglect of duty, transgression of the laws in the admission of ministers, interference with superintendents in the exercise of discipline, simony, or the alienation of the property of the church. Those who had agreed to the proposal of the court at Leith, in the hopes that churches would be planted and stipends appointed, were mortifyingly disappointed. The patrons of benefices not being bound by any law, refused to comply with the regulations. And the Regent, instead of using his influence, as he had promised, to procure their compliance, encouraged them by his conduct to persevere in their refusal. Having, under a deceitful pretext, got the man-

\* Douglas, Archbishop of St. Andrews, was superannuated. Campbell, Bishop of Brechin, was a youth, and needed to be put under the tuition of the superintendent of Angus. (Cald. MS. vol. ii. p. 471.) George Douglas, Bishop of Murray, was under process for immorality, and continued under trials for years without giving satisfaction as to his gifts. (Ib. ib. pp. 473. 478.) "The yeir efter, was maid bischope Geordie of Murro, whom I saw a haille wintar mumling on his pretching of his peapers everie day at our morning prayers, and haid it not weill parceur when all was done." (Melville's Diary, p. 27.) Alexander Hepburn, bishop-elect of Ross, delivered his trials before the General Assembly, and gave good satisfaction. (Cald. MS. vol. ii. p. 458.)

agement of the thirds of benefices out of the hands of the collectors appointed by the church, he united a number of parishes under the care of one minister, assisted by readers to whom a trifling salary was allotted. The ministers complained loudly of these abuses, and consulted on the most proper means of checking them. Upon which Morton accused them of seditious and treasonable speeches, withdrew his countenance from their assemblies, began to call in question their right to meet and transact business without his express allowance, and advanced a claim to the same supremacy over the church in Scotland, which had been declared to belong to the inherent prerogative of the sovereign in England \*.

In this confused and unsettled state were the affairs of the church when Melville revisited his native country. Two years before that period, the individual whom Providence raised up to enlighten and reform Scotland had rested from his labours. The "dead hand" and dying voice of Knox were employed in protesting against a system which, as he foresaw, would debase the purity and endanger the existence of that ecclesiastical establishment which he had reared with unwearied exertion, and whose safety he had watched over with the most uncorrupted fidelity. The loss sustained by his removal was soon severely felt. There still remained a number of excellent men, sincerely attached to the prin-

\* Buik of the Universall Kirk, p. 58. Cald. MS. vol. ii. pp. 398—403. 413—423. 454.

ciples upon which the Reformation had been established in Scotland, and not incapable of defending them. But there was wanting an individual inheriting the ardent and intrepid spirit of the Reformer, capable of giving an impulse and a voice to public sentiment, and possessing decision of mind to execute, as well as sagacity to discern, those measures which were requisite to restore the church to her liberties, and to fix her authority on a proper and solid basis.

All were convinced that things ought not to remain on their present footing, but it was not so easy to come to an agreement respecting the change which was needed, and the best way of effecting it. Three questions rose out of the present conjuncture of affairs. The first related to the superiority of bishops above other ministers; the second, to invasions on the property of the church; and the third, to the encroachments made on her authority. But although these questions are distinct, yet the two last were in reality involved in the first, or, at least, were inseparably connected with it on the present occasion. It was by setting up bishops, and by the share which they consequently had in the admission of ministers, that the court expected chiefly to succeed in their designs on the patrimony of the church. And whatever they may have found it prudent to give out, or whatever a few individuals may have really felt, the great reason which has induced rulers to prefer episcopacy, is the superior facility with which it enables them to exert an unlimited sway over the cler-

gy, and, through them, over the sentiments and feelings of the people. It was in this light that Melville appears to have viewed the subject. By conversation he ascertained that a number of the ministers coincided with him in these views; and he considered that he was at liberty, and that it was his duty, to embrace every proper opportunity of inculcating and enforcing them upon such as doubted of their truth, or scrupled the propriety of reducing them to practice.

Melville sat as a member of the General Assembly which was held at Edinburgh in March, 1575, being the first meeting of that judicatory after his admission to the College of Glasgow. This Assembly resumed the subject of ecclesiastical polity, which had formerly been under its consideration\*. The conviction that something behoved to be done in this matter was now become so general and strong, that a Convention of Estates, held a few days before, had voted 'that great inconveniences had arisen, and were likely to increase, from the want of a decent and comely government in the church;' and had appointed a committee, consisting of laymen and ministers, to draw up a form of ecclesiastical polity agreeable to the word of God and adapted to the state of the country†. The General Assembly appointed a com-

\* Cald. MS. vol. ii. pp. 436, 437.

† Act. Parl. Scot. vol. iii. p. 89. In the writ of Privy Seal respecting the Chalmerlanrie of the Senis, formerly referred to, after quoting from the act of the convention, it is added: "In consideration of

mittee of their number to meet with the parliamentary commissioners, enjoining them to wait on the business, and to transmit to the ministers of the different provinces any overtures that might be made. But though they had no objection to concur with the government, they considered the subject as one that properly belonged to themselves, and therefore appointed such brethren as had studied the question most accurately to meet and prepare a draught to be laid before the Assembly. Melville was a member of this committee, which was renewed from time to time, and whose labours at last produced the *Second Book of Discipline* \*.

At the next Assembly, in August, 1575, when it was proposed to proceed, as usual, to the trial of the bishops, John Dury, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, rose and protested, that the examination of the conduct of the bishops should not prejudice what he and other brethren had to object against the lawfulness of their office †. On this occasion, Melville rose and addressed the Assembly in a speech of con-

the guid intentioun to constitute and establish a godlie and decent ecclesiasticall polcey for ordering and governing of the kirk within this realm, and that na thing quhilk might hinder the samin wald be done in the meyn tyme It was concludit that the saidis nunries and vtheris abbayis or prioreis now vacand or that heirefter happenis to vaik sall nocht be disponit nor geven in titell to ony maner of persoun or personis but remane vacand quhill the constitutioun and establisging of the said ecclesiasticall polcey. As the Act maid heirvpoun purportis," &c. (Register of Privy Seal. Comp. Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 90.)

\* Melville's Diary, p. 42. Cald. MS. vol. ii. p. 457.

† Buik of the Universall Kirk, p. 62.

siderable length, in which he supported Dury's proposition, and stated his own sentiments respecting episcopacy. 'He was satisfied,' he said, 'that prelacy had no foundation in the Scriptures, and that, viewed as a human expedient, its tendency was extremely doubtful, if not necessarily hurtful to the interests of religion. The words *bishop* and *presbyter* are interchangeably used in the New Testament; and the most popular arguments for the divine origin of episcopacy are founded on ignorance of the original language of Scripture \*. It was the opinion of Jerome and other Christian Fathers, that all ministers of the Gospel were at first equal †; and that the superiority of bishops originated in custom, and not in divine appointment. A certain degree of pre-eminence was, at an early period, given to one of the college of presbyters over the rest, with the view, or under the pretext of preserving unity; but this device had oftener bred dissension, while it fostered a spirit of ambition and avarice among the clergy. From ecclesiastical history it is evident, that, for a considerable time after this change took place, bi-

\* Acts xx. 17. 28; 1 Pet. v. 1, 2. In the venerable Syriac version called the Peshito, *seniores* is translated "the elders," and *seniorum*, "the office of an elder." Philip. i. 1; 1 Tim. iii. 1. "This proves," says Dr. Marsh, "that the Syriac translator understood his original, and that he made a proper distinction between the language of the primitive and that of the hierarchical church." Michaelis, Introduction to the New Testament, vol. ii. pp. 32. 553. Lond. 1802.

† See Note 8.

shops were parochial and not diocesan. The same principles which justify, and the same measures which led to the extension of the bishop's power over all the pastors of a diocese, will justify and lead to the establishment of an archbishop, metropolitan, or patriarch over a province or kingdom, and of a universal bishop, or pope, over the whole Christian world. He had witnessed, the good effects of presbyterian parity at Geneva and in France. The maintenance of the hierarchy in England, he could not but consider as one cause of the rarity of preaching, the poverty of the lower orders of the clergy, pluralities, want of discipline, and other abuses, which had produced dissensions and heart-burnings in that flourishing kingdom. And he was convinced that the best and the only effectual way of redressing the grievances which at present afflicted the church of Scotland, and of preventing their return, was to strike at the root of the evil, by abolishing prelacy, and restoring that parity of rank and authority which existed at the beginning among all the pastors of the church.'

This speech was listened to with the utmost attention, and made a deep impression \*. The question was immediately proposed, 'Have bishops, as they are now in Scotland, their function from the word of God, or not? and ought the chapters appointed for electing them to be tolerated in a reformed church?' For the better resolution of this

\* Spotswood, Hist. p. 275.

question, the Assembly agreed that it should be debated by a select number on each side. John Craig, who had been Knox's colleague, but was at this time minister of Aberdeen, James Lawson, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, and Andrew Melville, were nominated to argue on the negative; and George Hay, commissioner of Caithness, John Row, minister of Perth, and David Lindsay, of Leith, on the affirmative side of the question. After two days' reasoning and conference on the subject, the committee presented their report. They did not think it expedient, for the present, to give a direct answer to the first part of the question, but were unanimously of opinion, that if unfit persons were chosen as bishops by the chapters, they ought to be tried anew and deposed by the General Assembly\*. They reported farther, that they had agreed on the following points respecting the office of a bishop, or superintendent: First, that the name of bishop is common to all who are appointed to take charge of a particular flock, in preaching the word, administering the sacraments, and exercising discipline with the consent of their elders; and that this is the chief function of bishops according to the word of God. And, secondly, that out of this number some may

\* In Spotswood's printed History, p. 176, it runs, "if any bishop was chosen that had not qualities required by the word of God, *he should be tried by the General Assembly.*" But in the archbishop's MS. it stands thus; "*he should be tried de novo by the Assembly, and deposed from his place.*" (Wodrow's Life of Andrew Melville, p. 9, MSS. vol. i. Bibl. Coll. Glas.)



be chosen to visit such reasonable bounds, besides their own flock, as the General Assembly shall allot to them; to admit ministers, with the consent of the ministers in their respective bounds and of the particular congregations concerned; to admit elders and deacons where there were none, with the consent of the people; and to suspend ministers, for just causes, with the consent of their brethren in the district. The consideration of this report was deferred until the next meeting of Assembly. There were six bishops present, none of whom offered any defence of the episcopal office\*. In April 1576, the Assembly, after deliberation, approved of and adopted the report of the committee in all its parts; and for carrying it into effect, ordained that such of the bishops as had not taken the charge of a single congregation, should now make choice of one. From this time the Assembly followed up their decision, until they formally abolished the episcopal office. In April 1578, they agreed that the bishops should, for the future, be addressed in the same style as other ministers, and, in case of a vacancy occurring in any bishopric, they discharged the chapters from proceeding to a new election before next meeting of Assembly. At last the General Assembly which met at Dundee in July 1580, found and declared the office of a bishop, as then used and commonly understood, to be destitute of warrant from the word

\* Buik of Univ. Kirk, p. 64. Cald. MS. vol. ii. pp. 470. 472. Spotswood, p. 276.

of God, and a human invention tending to the great injury of the church ; ordained the bishops to demit their pretended office *simpliciter*, and to receive admission *de novo* to the ministerial office, under the pain of excommunication after due admonition ; and appointed the places and times at which they should appear before the provincial synods, and signify their submission to this act. The minutes bear, that this famous act was agreed to by " the whole assembly in one voice, after liberty given to all men to reason in the matter, none opposing himself in defending the said pretended office." The King's Commissioner was present in the Assembly, and made not the smallest opposition to the procedure\*.

It was of great importance to the success of this measure, that the Assembly should procure the submission of the individuals who filled the different sees. This was no easy task, as, in addition to the reluctance which all men feel to relinquish power, the bishops were, on the present occasion, encouraged to resistance by the court and nobility. Notwithstanding this, such was the authority of the

\* Buik of the Univ. Kirk, p. 95. Cald. MS. vol. ii. pp. 620, 621. Melville's Diary, p. 62. Spotswood, Hist. p. 311. In consequence of a difficulty expressed by some individuals as to the exact import of the act condemning episcopacy, the General Assembly which met at Glasgow in April, 1581, (consisting, " for the most part," of the same individuals who had been present in the Assembly at Dundee,) declared, " that they meant *haillelie* to condemne the estate of bishops as they are now in Scotland, and that the same was the determination of the kirk at that time." (Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 101, a. Spotswood has given a partial account of this explanation. Hist. p. 316.)

Assembly, and the activity of their agents, that the submission of the whole order, with the exception of five, was obtained in the course of the year in which the act abolishing episcopacy passed \*.

While they were taking these decisive steps in abolishing episcopacy, the Assembly were actively employed in maturing their plan of church government. In April 1576, the committee entrusted with this business was enlarged. It was divided into four sub-committees, to meet in Glasgow, Edinburgh, St. Andrews, and Montrose; which, after preparing materials, were to send delegates to a general meeting at Stirling, where the whole was to be examined, revised, and put into proper form. The result of their labours was laid before the General Assembly, who spent the greater part of several meetings in examining and correcting the draught, discussing those points which were doubtful or disputed †, listening to objections, receiving hints from whatever quarter they came, and, in short, adopting every means for rendering the platform as perfect and unexceptionable as possible. During these deliberations, Morton, with the view of embarrassing their proceedings, gave in a paper containing forty-two questions relating to the govern-

\* Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 100, b. Cald. MS. vol. ii. p. 636.

† The heads of *patronage*, *divorce*, and the *office of deacons*, were most offensive to the court, and consequently were made the subject of longest discussion. The ground of objection to the last of these heads was, that it gave the management of the patrimony of the church to the deacons.

ment of the church, to which he required answers. Although the greater part of these questions were evidently captious and frivolous \*, the Assembly, to shew their respect for the Regent, appointed a committee to answer them; but they did not suffer themselves to be diverted by them from their main business. Perceiving their determination, Morton altered his conduct, or at least his language, signified that he "liked well of their travels and labour in that matter," and required them to use all expedition to complete the work which they had begun. The work was completed accordingly, and received the sanction of the General Assembly, at their meeting held in the Magdalene Chapel of Edinburgh in April 1578, and of which Melville was Moderator †. From this time, the Book of Policy, as it was then

\* The following is a specimen of the Regent's questions, which were understood to have been drawn up by Archbishop Adamson: "Ought there to be any degrees of dignity and order among ministers, in respect of learning, age, or places where they make residence? How far may the ministers, elders, and deacons, of every particular kirk or paroch proceed, and in what causes? How many G. Assemblies ought there to be within a kingdom? by whom should they be convocate? for what cause? What form of summoning and proceeding? &c. What is the proper patrimony of the kirk? Shall ministers' stipends be alike in quantity, because they are thought to be alike in dignity? What is symony? Whether may a man be both a minister and a reader, or an officer at arms, or a Lord or Laird's steward, Griefe, pantryman, or porter? Whether has the city of Geneva committed sacrilege or not, in appointing the rents or teinds of their Bishoprick to their common treasury, paying but a certain portion thereof to the stipend of their ministers?" (Cald. MS. vol. ii. pp. 503—507.)

† Buik of Univ. Kirk, pp. 73, 74. Cald. MS. ii. 529.

styled, or Second Book of Discipline, although not ratified by the Privy Council or Parliament, was regarded by the Church as exhibiting her authorized form of government; and steps were immediately taken for carrying its arrangements into effect, by erecting Presbyteries throughout the kingdom, and committing to them the oversight of all ecclesiastical affairs within their bounds, to the exclusion of bishops, superintendents, and visitors\*.

The First Book of Discipline, though an admirable production for the time, was hastily compiled, to meet the emergency caused by the sudden triumph of the Protestant interest over the Popish hierarchy†. Several arrangements of a provisional de-

\* Among the overtures made by the Synod of Lothian to the General Assembly in July 1579, was the following: "A general order to be taken for erecting of Presbyteries in places where Publick Exercise is used, until the tyme the Policie of the Kirk be established be law." To this the Assembly answered: "The Exercise may be judged a Presbyterie." (Cald. MS. vol. ii. p. 501. Buik of Univ. Kirk, p. 74.) In October 1579, the Assembly requested the Clerk Register to assist their Commissioners "to lay down and devise a plan of the Presbyteries and constitution thereof." (Cald. ii. 641.) In April 1581, the laird of Caprington, the King's Commissioner, presented to the Assembly, "certane rolls concerning the planting of the Kirks, and the number of the Presbiteries;" and the same Assembly ordained, that "the booke of policie aggreit to befor in divers assemblies sould be registrat in acts of the kirk, and to remane therein ad perpetuum rei memoriam, and the copies thereof to be takin be every Presbyterie, of the qlk booke the tenour followes," &c. (Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 101, b. 104, b. Melville's Diary, p. 67.)

† The order of the Privy Council, directing the ministers to draw it up, was issued April 26, 1560, and the work was finished on the 20th of May following. (The First and Second Book of Discipline, pp. 23, 70. Printed anno 1621.)

scription were necessarily introduced into it, while others, which subsequent experience shewed to be of great importance, were unavoidably omitted \*. The Second Book of Discipline was drawn up with greater care and deliberation, by persons who had studied the subject with much attention, and had leisure to compare and digest their views. It is methodically arranged, and the propositions under each head are expressed with perspicuity, conciseness, and precision.

It begins by laying down the essential line of distinction between civil and ecclesiastical power. Jesus Christ, it declares, has appointed a government in his church, distinct from civil government, which is to be exercised in his name by such office-bearers as he has authorized, and not by civil magistrates or under their direction. Civil authority has for its direct and proper object the promoting of external peace and quietness among the subjects, ecclesiastical authority, the directing of men in matters of religion and which pertain to conscience; the former enforces obedience by external means, the latter by spiritual means; yet as they " be

\* Its compilers were fully sensible of this defect, and accordingly at almost every Assembly, from 1563 to 1575, when the Second Book of Discipline began to be prepared, resolutions were made as to the necessity of defining the jurisdiction and settling the polity of the church after a more perfect form. See the acts of Assembly prefixed to the First and Second Booke of Discipline, printed anno 1621. The reader will also find in that work ample information as to the proceedings of the Assembly, and of its committees, in compiling the Second Book of Discipline.

both of God, and tend to one end, if they be rightly used, to wit, to advance the glory of God, and to have good and godly subjects," they ought to co-operate within their respective spheres and fortify each other. "As ministers are subject to the judgment and punishment of the magistrate in external things, if they offend, so ought the magistrates to submit themselves to the discipline of the kirk, if they transgress in matters of conscience and religion."—The government of the church consists in three things; doctrine, (to which is annexed the administration of the sacraments,) discipline, and distribution. Corresponding to this division, there are three kinds of church-officers; ministers, who are preachers as well as rulers, elders, who are merely rulers, and deacons, who act as distributors of alms and managers of the funds of the church. The name *bishop* is of the same import as that of *pastor* or *minister*; it is not expressive of superiority or lordship; and the Scriptures do not allow of a pastor of pastors or a pastor of many flocks. Connected with the pastor, who dispenses the word and sacraments, is the doctor or teacher, whose function lies in expounding the Scriptures, defending the truth against erroneous teachers, and instructing the youth, in schools, colleges, and universities. There should be elders who do not labour in word and doctrine: they ought to assist the pastor in examining those who come to the Lord's table, and in visiting the sick; but "their principal office is to hold assemblies with the pastors, and doctors, who

are also of their number, for establishing good order and execution of discipline."—The office-bearers of the church are to be admitted by election and ordination. None are to be intruded into any ecclesiastical office, "contrary to the will of the congregation to which they are appointed." "The ceremonies of ordination are fasting, earnest prayer, and the imposition of the hands of the eldership," or presbytery.—Ecclesiastical assemblies are either particular, (consisting of the office-bearers of one congregation or of a number of neighbouring congregations,) provincial, national, or ecumenical and general. It is not thought absolutely necessary, that there should be a stated assembly or session in country congregations; but each ought to have its own elders \*. The Presbytery, or Eldership, as it is called, has the inspection of a number of adjoining congregations in every thing relating to religion and manners, and has the power of ordaining and deposing ministers, and of exercising discipline within its bounds. The Provincial Synod possesses the collective power of all the presbyteries within a

\* "When we speak of the Elders of the particular congregations, we mean not that every particular parish kirk can or may have their own particular Elderships, especially in Landward; but wee think three, foure, moe or fewer, particular kirks, may have one Eldership common to them all, to judge their Ecclesiasticall causes. Yet this is meet, that some of the Elders be chosen out of every particular congregation, to concurre with the rest of their brethren in the common assembly, and to take up the delations of offences within their owne kirks, and bring them to the assembly. This we gather of the practice of the primitive kirk, where Elders or colledges of Seniors were constitute in cities and famous places." Chap. 7.



province, and consequently may handle and redress whatever has been done amiss by any of them. The General Assembly, or "general eldership of the whole churches in the realm," takes cognizance of what has been done amiss by the provincial assemblies, and in general of every thing connected with the welfare of the national church. "None are subject to repair to this assembly to vote but ecclesiastical persons only \*, to such a number as shall be thought good by the same assembly ;" but none are excluded from being present in it "to propose, hear, and reason." All the ecclesiastical assemblies have lawful power to convene for transacting business, and to appoint the times and places of their meeting. In each of them a Moderator is to be chosen by common consent of the brethren, to propose the causes, gather the votes, and cause good order to be kept.—The patrimony of the church includes whatever has been appropriated to her use, whether by donations from individuals, or by laws and usage. To take any part of this by unlawful means, and apply it to the particular and profane use of individuals, is simony. It belongs to the deacons to receive the ecclesiastical goods, and to distribute them according to the appointment of presbyteries. The purposes to which they are to be applied are the four following : the support of ministers ; the support of elders and other church-officers, as far as this may be found necessary, and

\* "The eldership is a spirituall function as is the ministrie."

of teachers of theology and schoolmasters, provided the ancient foundations for education are insufficient; the maintenance of the poor and of hospitals; and lastly, the reparation of places of worship, and other extraordinary charges of the church or commonwealth.—Among the abuses which ought to be removed the following are specified, the titles of abbots and others connected with monastic institutions, with the places which they held, as churchmen, in the courts of legislature and judicature; deans and others attached to cathedral and collegiate churches; the usurped superiority of bishops, and their acting in parliament and council in the name of the church, without her commission\*; the exercise of criminal justice and the pastoral office by the same individuals; the mixed jurisdiction of commissaries; pluralities; and patronages and presentations to benefices whether by the prince or any inferior person, which lead to intrusion, and are inconsistent with “lawful election and the assent of the people over whom the person is placed, as the practice of the apostolical and primitive kirk and good order crave.”

Such is the outline of the presbyterian plan of church-government, as delineated in the Second Book of Discipline. Its leading principles rest upon

\* “We denie not in the meane time, but Ministers may and should assist their Princes when they are required, in all things agreeable to the Word, whether it be in Councell or Parliament, or otherwayes, providing alwayes they neither neglect their owne charges, nor through flattery of Princes, hurt the publick estate of the Kirk.” Chap. ii.

the express authority of the word of God. Its subordinate arrangements are supported by the general rules of Scripture—they are simple, calculated to preserve order and promote edification, and adapted to the circumstances of the church for which they were intended. It is equally opposed to arbitrary and lordly domination on the part of the clergy, and to popular confusion and misrule. It secures the liberty of the people in one of their most important privileges, the choosing of those who shall watch for their souls, without making them the final judges of the qualifications of those who shall be invested with this office. While it establishes an efficient discipline in every congregation, it also preserves that unity which ought to subsist among the different branches of the church of Christ; secures attention to those numerous cases which are of common concern and general utility; and provides a remedy against particular acts of injustice and maladministration arising from local partialities and limited information, by the institution of larger assemblies acting as courts of appeal and review, in which the interests of all are equally represented and each enjoys the benefit resulting from the collective wisdom of the whole body. It encourages a friendly co-operation between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities; but it, at the same time, avoids the confounding of their limits—prohibits church-courts from “meddling with any thing pertaining to the civil jurisdiction,”—establishes their independence in all matters which belong to their cognizance—and guards

against, what is the great bane of religion and curse of the church, a priesthood which is merely the organized puppet of the state, and moves and acts only as it is directed by a political administration. It is a form of ecclesiastical polity whose practical utility has been proportionate to the purity in which its principles have been maintained. Accordingly, it has secured the cordial and lasting attachment of the people of Scotland; whenever it has been wrested from them by arbitrary violence, they have uniformly embraced the first favourable opportunity of demanding its restoration; and the principal secessions which have been made from the national church in this part of the kingdom have been stated, not in the way of dissent from its constitution, as in England, but in opposition to departures, real or alleged, from its original and genuine principles.

Hierarchical writers do more honour to Melville than he is fairly entitled to, when they ascribe the overthrow of episcopacy, and the erection of presbytery, solely to his authority and exertions. Yet the leading part which he took in the work, and the high degree in which its success was owing to his zeal and ability, will justify the details into which we have thought it proper to enter. He was on all the committees employed in collecting materials for the Book of Polity, and in reducing them into form. He was present at most of the conferences held on the subject with committees of the Privy Council and Parliament. He had a principal share in all the discussions and debates that occurred, both in pri-

vate and public, on the articles which were most keenly disputed and opposed. And he subjected himself to great personal fatigue and expense and odium, during a series of years which were spent in completing the work and in procuring its reception\*. Indeed, he regarded his exertions in this cause as the greatest service which he could perform for his country; and for the sake of advancing it, he cheerfully sacrificed the gratification which he felt in prosecuting his studies, and the prospects of personal fame which he might have acquired by engaging in literary undertakings.

The eagerness and success with which Melville laboured in the erection of the presbyterian system naturally rendered him obnoxious in the eyes of the adherents of episcopacy. Accordingly, writers of that persuasion have endeavoured, by the representations which they have given of his conduct on this occasion, to excite prejudices against his character and the cause which he promoted. Archbishop Spotswood, whose ambitious views he long crossed, and who has never mentioned his name with temper in the course of his history, set an example of this treatment; and we shall quote his words, which

\* " And in deid that mater cost him exceeding greit peans, bathe in mynd, body, and gear, during the space of five or sax yair, with the gean of the Regent Erl of Morton and his bischopes vtter indignation. Yit with the wonderful assistance of God he bure it out till the abolishing of bischopes and establissing of the Presbyteries according to the word of God. Wharby he gatt the name of *επισκοπομαρτυρ*, episcoporum exactor, the slinger out of bishops." (Melville's Diary, p. 42.)

subsequent writers of the same description have done little more than repeated. "In the church this year began the innovations to break forth that to this day have kept it in a continual unquietness. Mr. Andrew Melvil, who was lately come from Geneva, a man learned (chiefly in the tongues) but hot and eager upon any thing he went about, labouring with a burning desire to bring into this church the presbyterian discipline of Geneva; and having insinuated himself into the favour of divers preachers, he stirred up John Dury, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, in an Assembly which was then convened, to propound a question touching the lawfulness of the episcopal function, and the authority of chapters in their election. He himself, as though he had not been acquainted with the motion, after he had commended the speaker's zeal, and seconded the purpose with a long discourse of the flourishing estate of the church of Geneva, and the opinions of Calvin and Theodore Beza concerning church-government, —in end he said, that the corruptions crept into the estate of bishops were so great, as unless the same were removed it could not go well with the church\*."

A few remarks on the several articles of this libel will be sufficient. It is insinuated that the church was in a tranquil state when Melville arrived in the country; and, indeed, if we had no other source of information as to these times than the archbishop's history, we might be ready to conclude that this was really the case. But we have already seen,

\* Spotswood, Hist. p. 275.

from the most undoubted of all authorities, from acts of assembly and acts of parliament as well as from private writings, that the state of matters was quite the reverse, and that great dissatisfactions prevailed in the church previous to and at his arrival in Scotland. Was it Melville who instigated those who protested against the consecration of Douglas at St. Andrews \*? or the whole Assembly, which at Perth protested against the titles of archbishops, deans, and chapters? Was it Melville who struck the blow at the civil power and places of bishops, which they have always regarded as among their dearest privileges? Was it not the archbishop's own father who moved and carried in the General Assembly, August 1573, (when there was no emissary from Geneva to incite him,) "that it was neither agreeable to the word of God, nor to the practice of the primitive church, for one man to occupy the charges of a minister of the Gospel and of a civil or criminal judge †?"—a sentiment of which it was the great ambition of his son to afford a practical and glaring contradiction.

But Melville laboured "to bring into this church the presbyterian discipline of Geneva." Or, as the archbishop expresses it in another publication, "His mind being imbued with the institutions of that city to which he had been long accustomed, he strained every nerve to bring our church to the nearest possible conformity with Geneva in point of discipline.

\* Bannatyne, pp. 323. 331.

† Petrie, part iii. p. 380.

not adverting to the difference between a kingdom and a republic \*." This is the same allegation which has been made with respect to the first settlement of our Reformation by Knox. It was first brought forward by Hooker, in his controversy with the English Presbyterians, but with great modesty, and many expressions of high respect for the Genevan Reformer †. It was afterwards urged, but in a very different spirit, by Bancroft; and it has been retailed with unvarying and monotonous uniformity by Episcopalian writers down to the present day. They would have gained more credit to their cause among the judicious, if they had rested its defence upon the authority of Scripture and reason, and left the use of such *prejuges legitimes* wholly to Roman Catholics, from whom they borrowed them, and whose cause would have been early ruined but for the magic influence of the question, "Where was your church before Luther?" But if it is necessary to bring the controversy to this test, Presbyterians have surely no reason to blush, or to be ashamed of

\* *Refutatio Libelli de Regimine Ecclesiæ Scoticæ*, p. 31. Calderwood, in his reply to this tract, remarks dryly, "If Melville, by the force of custom during five years residence at Geneva, became so enamoured with its discipline, is it not strange that John Spotswood should have been so easily induced to desert the Scots discipline, to which he had been habituated for more than ten years? The reason is to be sought for in the different disposition of the men, not in their education—*Discrimen in ingeniis, non in disciplina, fuit.*" (*Epistolæ Philadelphi Vind.* apud Altare Damasc. p. 731. edit. 2.)

† Preface to *Ecclesiastical Polity*, sect. 2; a section which those who are accustomed to disparage Calvin, and eulogize Hooker, with equal ignorance of both, would do well to read.



their descent. Where was the bishop in Scotland or in England, during the sixteenth century, that could be compared with Calvin or with Beza, either in point of talents or of learning, of skill in the Scriptures or of acquaintance with ecclesiastical history and the writings of the fathers? If the Reformers of Scotland were so unfortunate as to imbibe erroneous sentiments at Geneva, what was the enlightened school, and where the pure fountain, to which the English Reformers had access, and at which they were so happy as to drink the unpolluted doctrines of revelation? That Knox and Melville were greatly indebted to Calvin and Beza, and that they admired the religious order and discipline established in Geneva, I do not wish to deny; but that they implicitly adopted and slavishly imitated the institutions which they had seen in that city, is an assertion which argues great ignorance both of the men and the subject. If Melville had laboured merely to introduce a foreign institute, why did he bestow so much pains in studying the subject, or how came it about that he was always so ready and so able to maintain what he recommended upon higher and more sacred grounds? The ecclesiastical polity of Geneva and of Scotland agreed in their radical principles. But those who are accurately acquainted with both, know that they differed in some points in which they might have been made accordant; and that, owing to the great diversity of their circumstances, the one could not be an exact and fit model for the other. Within the small territory of

Geneva there was no room and no occasion for the parochial sessions, presbyteries, synods, and general assembly, which were erected in Scotland. Presbytery can accommodate itself to any extent of country; and its genius, and the exercise of its powers, are not incompatible with any reasonable form of civil government, monarchical or republican.

Melville, it is allowed, was "learned," but then it was "chiefly in the tongues." Of the truth of this qualifying clause, the reader shall be left to judge, from the evidence which has been already laid before him. With respect to the disparaging style in which skill in languages is here mentioned, it might be sufficient to remark, that the archbishop, though a man of talents, was no great scholar; and it is very natural for us to depreciate what we do not possess or understand\*. But the truth is, that, in speaking after this manner, he only imitated the language of his predecessors, Montgomery and Adamson†. I mention this chiefly because it

\* Calderwood mentions that Spotswood was ignorant of Greek, and says, it was suspected (probably without good reason) that he had got a certain physician to translate his book into Latin. "*Dedicavit Principi Carolo Libellum istum de rebus Ecclesiæ Scotticæ Latine, et Græcis quasi stellis distinctum, quem omnes scimus Græci nescire, Latine vix scire, nedum posse tam Latine scribere. Sed non est mirum, mentis (Medici cujusdam ut audio) pennis niti mendaciorum concinnatorem.*" (Prefat. Epist. Philadelph. Vind.)

† One of the articles of the libel raised in 1681 against Montgomery, archbishop of Glasgow, was, "that, so far as he could, he travellit to bring the original languages, Greik and Hebrew, into contempt; abusing thereunto the words of the apostle 1 Cor. xiv. and tauntingly asking, 'In what Schoole were Peter and Paul graduated?'"

affords a curious illustration of the fact, that adventitious recommendations of this kind may be possessed by different parties at different periods. Superior skill in ancient languages, upon which the members of the Church of England in the present day plume themselves, and which I have no desire to deny them, was in the sixteenth century so unquestionably due to presbyterians in Scotland, that their opponents thought it necessary to depreciate it as a minor acquisition, and as calculated to do more hurt than good.

The charge that Melville "insinuated himself into the favour of diverse preachers," is absurd. His talents and character were such as to secure him easy access to the company and favour of any preacher in Scotland; and the most learned men in the country were proud of his friendship. He communicated his sentiments respecting episcopacy and church-government in the most unreserved manner to Adamsen and Cunninghame, who afterwards became bishops. It is true, that he lived on terms of the greatest intimacy with Lawson, Dury, and Balcanquhall, the ministers of Edinburgh; and there is no reason to doubt that he had confidential

(Bulk of the Universal Kirk, f. 114. b.) The following is one of the assertions collected from the lectures which archbishop Adamson delivered at St. Andrews: "Græcæ, Hebraicæ et Chaldaicæ et ceterarum ejusmodi doctarum et sanctorum linguarum cognitio, non solum otiosa et inutilis, sed etiam perniciofa et exitialis est Reip. et ecclesiæ Dei." (Floretum Archiepiscopale, MS. in Bibl. Jurid.-Edin. M. 8, 9. Num. 47.)

conversations with them on those measures which at that time engaged universal attention. It may even be true, that he was previously acquainted with Dury's intention to object against the episcopal office; for what is more customary than for a person to consult with his friends before he submits a motion on any important subject to a court? But that Melville conducted the business in an insidious or dishonourable way, by pushing forward another to do what he was afraid to do himself, and then affecting ignorance of the design; or that John Dury would have consented to become a tool in any such disgraceful management,—no one who is acquainted with the characters and tempers of the two men will ever for a moment believe \*. Such arts were reserved to be employed in the advance

\* Dury was at first an exhorter in Leith. Though not learned, he possessed great spirit, and had distinguished himself by his zeal and courage during the civil war. "About the same time (1671) came to St. Andrews, to visit Mr. Knox, Mr. John Durie, fellow minister at Leith with Mr. David Lindsay, who was then for stoutness and zeal in the good cause much renowned & talked off. For the gown was no sooner off, and the Byble out of hands from the kirk, when on god, the corslet, and fangit was the hacket, and to the fields." (Melville's Diary, p. 28. Comp. Bannatyne's Journal, pp. 359, 360.)

As Dury commenced the attack on episcopacy, Spotswood was eager to represent him as having retracted his sentiments on this subject in his latter days. (History, p. 458.) But the archbishop's story is contradicted by Dury's son-in-law, who declares that he retained his sentiments concerning episcopacy unaltered to the last. (Melville's Diary, p. 245.)

ment of a different cause, and by a very different set of men.

There is no evidence that Melville conducted himself in a violent and overbearing manner in the prosecution of this business. He had no means of effecting an alteration on the government of the church but argument and persuasion; and had he pushed matters with the intemperance which some have ascribed to him, he must have defeated his own designs, and raised insurmountable difficulties in the way of their accomplishment. No dissension was produced in the church. There was a general and harmonious concurrence of sentiment in favour of the measures which were adopted; and, aware of this, the bishops themselves, who were present in the Assembly, made no formal or public opposition\*. During the earlier and most important part of the proceedings, the reins of civil government were in the hands of one who could hold them with sufficient firmness, and who possessed the address to avail himself of any act of imprudence or violence on the part of the ecclesiastical courts, as a pretext for putting a stop to those measures to which he

\* Spotswood acknowledges this fact, and mentions it with much surprise and disapprobation. "What respect soever it was that made them keep so quiet, whether, as I have heard, that they expected those motions should have been dashed by the Regent, or otherwise that they affected the praise of humility, it was no wisdom in them to have given way to such novelties, & have suffered the lawfulness of their vocation to be thus drawn in question." (Hist. p. 276.)

was known to be decidedly averse. But no occasion of this kind was given. Every thing was conducted with firmness, indeed, and perseverance, but at the same time, with a temper, deliberation, and unanimity rarely exhibited by a popular assembly, and which reflect the highest honour on its members.

Nor was this harmony purchased at the expense of that freedom which belongs to a popular and deliberative assembly. There was at that period no party-management—nothing similar to the practice afterwards introduced, when a cabal or set of leaders settled every thing in private, and having previously decided on their measures, and calculated their strength, granted to the court the semblance of liberty by a mock debate and the formality of a vote\*.

\* The appointment of assessors or assistants to the moderator, has been urged in opposition to the statement given in the text. That practice was introduced in the following way. In April, 1577, Alexander Arbuthnot, Principal of the University of Aberdeen, was chosen moderator. It was the moderator's business to fix the order in which the causes should come before the court. But as Arbuthnot had not been present at the preceding Assembly, and consequently was unacquainted with the business which remained undecided, he requested that certain members should be appointed to assist him. This was complied with, and the advantages of the appointment in expediting business led to its repetition at subsequent meetings. Some members were jealous of its tendency, and objected against the precedent, and there is no doubt that it was afterwards abused in prejudice of the liberties of the Assembly. (Cald. MS. vol. ii. pp. 508, 616. Petrie, P. iii. p. 391.) The writer of Arbuthnot's Life in the Biographia Britannica, absurdly says: "This committee had the name of the *Congregation*, and in a short time all

One who was present at most if not all of the Assemblies occupied in framing the Book of Discipline, gives the following account of their manner of proceeding. "It was a most pleasand and comfortable thing to be present at these assemblies; there was sic frequencie and reverence, with holiness and zeal. Maters war gravlie and cleirly proponit; overtures maid by the wysest, douttes reassonit and discussit by the learnedest and maist quik; and, finallie, all with ane voice concluding upon matters resolvit and cleirit, and referring thingis intritit and uncleirit to farther advysment. Namely, this is to be noted, that, in all these assemblies anent the policie, there was not sic a thing as a carieing away of anie point with a number of vottes, ane or ma, as by a preoccupied purpose or led course; bot maters were indifferentlie proponit, and, efter beging light of God and sersing the scriptures, by conference and reasoning discussit, with large and sufficient tyme taken and diligentlie employit for that effect, all with ane voice in ane consent and unitie of mynd determined and concluded \*."

Some authors are of opinion, that there was no difference of sentiment among the ministers on the head of episcopacy, and that the reasoning between certain members of Assembly, when the question

matters of importance came to be treated there, and the Assembly had little to do but to approve their resolutions." (Biogr. Brit. vol. i. p. 236. edit. 2.)

\* Melville's Diary, pp. 59, 60. Comp. Row, Hist. p. 22.

was first agitated, was merely a disputation, according to the manner of the schools, with the view of throwing greater light on the subject. This opinion is, I think, erroneous. There were none in Scotland at that time, so far as I have been able to learn, who regarded the episcopal office as of divine institution; but I have no doubt that there were ministers, besides the bishops, who did not esteem it to be positively unlawful or necessarily injurious to the interests of the church, and who thought that it ought to be retained, or at least tolerated, in the state in which affairs were in Scotland at that period. It is reasonable to suppose that these were the sentiments of Row, Lindsay, and George Hay, who were nominated by the assembly to reason in defence of episcopacy. That they were Row's sentiments we know from the testimony of his son, who informs us that his father at first thought episcopacy lawful; but was constrained, along with those who reasoned on the same side with him, to yield to the force of the arguments brought forward by their opponents, and from that time took a decided part in removing bishops and establishing the presbyterian polity\*. Among those who held the lawfulness of episcopacy, archbishop Spotswood also includes the names of his own father, of Erskine of Dun, John Winram, Alexander Arbuthnot, Robert Pont, Thomas Smeton, and Andrew Pol-

\* Row of Carnock, MS. *Historie of the Kirk*, p. 289. Comp. Melville's *Diary*, p. 64.



wart \*. Smeton, Polwart, and Pont, afterwards distinguished themselves by their opposition to bishops †. Arbuthnot and Melville were closely united in their views and public conduct ‡. And if the others were at first of episcopal sentiments, they must have changed their views, as they co-operated in the establishment of presbytery, and as there was not a single contradictory or dissenting voice at the abolition of episcopacy §.

It is agreed, on all hands, that this change of sentiment was brought about chiefly by the influence of Melville. That in exerting this influence he never overstepped the bounds of moderation, and that, in the fervour of his zeal for what he considered as the cause of God and truth, he never infringed the rights, nor unnecessarily wounded the feelings, of good men who might conscientiously differ from him, I am far from wishing to assert. But there is one instance,

\* De Regimine Ecclesie Scoticanæ, p. 42.

† Melville, in a letter "*Johanni Rowio Ecclesiastæ Perthensi*," dated "15. Cal. Feb. 1578, says "*Smetonius accerrimus bonæ causæ propugnator*." (MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6, 9.) Smeton and Polwart protested against the election of Montgomery as bishop of Glasgow. (Records of Privy Council, April 12, 1592.) Erskine, Lindsay, and Pont, presented to the Privy Council the remonstrance of the General Assembly against the suspension of Montgomery's excommunication. (Bull of Univ. Kirk, f. 126, b.)

‡ Letter of Melville to Arbuthnot, Sept. 4. 1579. MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 9.

§ The reason which Spotswood gives for their consent is not much to their honour: "*Tandem, ne frustra contraniti viderentur, in imperitiæ multitudinis sententiam concesserint*." (De Regimine Eccles. Scot. p. 45.)

in which I am satisfied that this charge has been brought against him groundlessly, if not wantonly. I refer to the case of James Boyd, archbishop of Glasgow. Spotswood says that Boyd was so much vexed with the proceedings of the Assembly in urging him to remove the corruptions of the episcopal office, and with certain injuries which he received from one of his own relations, that he "contracted a melancholy whereof he died not long after at Glasgow." He adds, "Nothing did more grieve him than the ingratitude of Mr. Andrew Melvil and his uncourteous forms. He had brought the man to Glasgow, placed him Principal in the Colledge, bestowed otherwise liberally upon him, and was paid for this his kindness with most disgraceful contempt. In private, and at the Bishop's table (to which he was ever welcome) no man did use him with greater respect, giving him his titles of dignity and honour; but in the publick meetings, where he owed him greatest reverence, he would call him by his proper name, and use him most uncivilly. The commission of the Assembly he exercised with all rigour, and by threatening the Bishop with the censures of the Church, induced him to set his hand to certain articles, which, as he professed in his sickness, did sore vex his mind; yet, being comforted by Mr. Andrew Polwart, Subdean of Glasgow, he departed this life in great quietness\*." Some of these charges are ridiculous and

\* Spotswood's Hist. p. 303.

childish, and the rest are unfounded and calumnious. The whole procedure of the Assembly in this case, as detailed in the public records, is marked by tenderness to Boyd, and regard to the delicate circumstances in which he was placed with his relations. It is false that the commission to procure his subscription was entrusted to Melville, or to a committee of which he was one. David Weemes, minister of Glasgow, was the only individual employed in this business\*. And two years elapsed between that transaction and the death of the bishop†. The story of his being grieved on his death-bed at his renunciation of episcopacy is contradicted by what is immediately added; for Polwart, who is represented as his comforter, was a decided anti-episcopalian‡. The allusion to Melville's partaking of the archbishop's hospitality is utterly unworthy of a reply. What is said as to the episcopal titles is worse than puerile. There was an act of Assembly directing that the bishops should be addressed by the same titles as other ministers. In obedience to this act, and in common with all his brethren, Melville observed this rule in the public meetings of the church; but he did not think that the Assembly intended to

\* Cald. MS. vol. ii. p. 586.

† His subscription, "where he willingly agreed to the act of the Assembly made at Stirling, 1578," was dated "the 8th day of June, 1579." (Cald. ut supra.) And he died in June, 1581. (Keith's Scottish Bishops, p. 155.) During the interval, he was employed by the Assembly as Commissioner of Carriek, and appointed on a committee to present articles to the King. (Cald. ii. 587, 642.)

‡ See before, p. 138.

interdict or interfere with the ordinary civilities of life, and accordingly made no scruple of giving the bishop his usual titles in private intercourse. And this compliance with the rules of *courtesy* must be produced and published as a proof of his "*uncourteous* forms," and bring the blood of a bishop on his head, too! He came to Glasgow at the urgent solicitation of the archbishop, when he had the offer of a preferable and more lucrative situation. The active part which Boyd took in bringing him there was with the view, not of conferring a favour on an individual, but of benefiting a literary institution; and if he was actuated by regard to the public good, as I have no doubt he was, he must have considered his exertions, and benefactions as amply rewarded by the flourishing condition into which Melville brought that decayed university, and must have derived far higher gratification from this than from having his ears tickled with vain-glorious and high-sounding titles, for which he never shewed that dotting fondness which his successor must have felt when he advanced so heavy a charge on such weak and miserable grounds. It is scarcely necessary to add, that the whole accusation of disrespect and ingratitude is refuted by the most unexceptionable testimony, that of the bishop's own son, the learned and excellent Robert Boyd of Trochrig, who, in his family-memoirs, mentions the inviolable friendship that subsisted between his father and Melville, and records with filial satisfaction and pride the high

commendations which he heard the latter bestow on the former\*.

There are too good grounds for retorting on Spotswood the charges which he has so groundlessly aimed at another. He received his education at the University of Glasgow, while Melville was Principal there, and James Melville was his teacher †. Yet, in his history, he has embraced every opportunity of tarnishing the reputation of the former, and has injured the character of the latter by retailing, as true, a slander of the most improbable kind, and which, if he did not know, he might easily have ascertained, to be false ‡.

From the frequent occasion that we shall have in the sequel to speak of Patrick Adamson, it is neces-

\* After mentioning the friendship between his father and John Davidson, minister of Prestonpans, he proceeds to speak of Melville: "Die quadam hunc ipsum in finem convenissem, ut ejus de Patre meo sententiam percontarer, quem is inter omnes tum viventes optime perspectum habebat, quippe a quo olim ipse, Geneva rediens, obvis ulnis exceptus fuerat, et Academiæ Glasguensis prefectura meritissime donatus, in quo per annos aliquot substitit, cum Patre meo sanctissimam colens amicitiam, post cujus demum e vivis excessum in Academiam Andreanam translatus est: Respondit, ex voto meo, et rei ipsius veritate, pectus illud candidissimum, illius integritate virtutisque luculentum perhibens testimonium lubentissime." (Roberti Bodii a Trochoregia Philotheca: Wodrow's Life of Archbishop Boyd, p. 3, 4. MSS. vol. iv. Bibl. Coll. Glas.) The account which James Melville has given of the Archbishop, and of his uncle's uninterrupted intimacy with him, exactly accords with the above. Diary, p. 39.

† It appears from his graduation that Spotswood attended the University of Glasgow at the period referred to; and Melville, in speaking of him in his letters to his nephew, mentions him by the designation "*your scholar*." (Melvini Epistolæ, p. 29.)

‡ Hist. p. 403.

sary to give a short account of his conduct at this period. He was minister of Paisley when the questions respecting the government of the church began to be publicly agitated, and professed a hearty concurrence with the views of Melville, whose society he courted. The latter, however, always suspected his sincerity, or at least his steadiness, and remarked to his confidential friends, that Adamson, as well as Cuninghame\*, was too courtly to remain attached to the cause†. In the course of the year 1575, he left his charge at Paisley, and became chaplain to the Regent; in the expectation, and indeed with the assurance, that he would obtain preferment in the church, as soon as a fit opportunity presented itself‡. The see of St. Andrews was at that time vacant, but it was necessary to proceed with caution in filling it, as the church had declared against the corruptions of the episcopal function. In October, 1576, the General Assembly was informed that Adamson was presented to that bishopric, upon which occasion he came forward, and declared that he did not intend to make use of his presenta-

\* See above, p. 132.

† Melville's Diary, p. 43, 45.

‡ "Ane letter maid to maister Patrick Adamsons, minister of Goddis word in ye lord Regentis house, of ane gift of an zeirlie pensioun of ye sowme of thre hundreth pundis money of yis realme a furtt of ye superplus of benefices and ye thriddis thair of not assignit to the sustentatioun of vtheris ministeris during all the dayis of his lyfe, at leist ay and quhill he be provydit sufficientlie of benefice, pensioun fruth of benefice, or vtherways to the yeirlie rait and avall of ye said pensioun and sowme thair off, &c. At Dalkeith, Jun. 15, 1576." (Register of Privie Seal, vol. xlii. fol. 7.)

tion\*. But before the next meeting of Assembly he had procured his election, and was admitted Archbishop of St. Andrews and Primate of all Scotland. The craft with which he accomplished his ambitious views excited the indignation of his brethren and the raillery of the courtiers. He had a favourite phrase, which he often used in his sermons, *The prophet would mean here*. When the fact of his being made Primate first transpired, Montgomery, the court-poet, exclaimed: "For as often as I have been told what *the prophet would mean*, I never knew what he really meant till now†." After much shifting and tergiversation, which we cannot here stop to relate, Adamson submitted to the determinations

\* Balf of the Univ. Kirk, p. 66. Cald. MS. vol. II. p. 404. "Nevertheless," says James Melville, "er the next assemble he was seisit hard and fast on the bishoprík, wharby all gossiprie ged up betwin him and my uncle Mr. Andro." (Diary, p. 46.) Spotswood says, that Adamson answered, "that he was discharged by the Regent to accept the office otherwise than was appointed by mutual consent of the Church and Estate." (Hist. p. 277.) But he appears to have confounded the answers returned at two different times by Adamson. (Balf of Universal Kirk, p. 66. comp. p. 48.) In the MS. copy of Spotswood's History, immediately after the above quotation, it is added,—"in the bishoprík, wherein if it should please the King and Estates to make any reformation, he should consent with the first thereunto." (Wodrow's Life of Archbishop Adamson, p. 16. MSS. Bibl. Coll. Glas. vol. iv.) This refers to the subsequent dealings of the Church with Adamson; as to which James Melville says: "As he was wonderfull craftie he offerit to lay down all at the feit of the brethering, and be ordourit at the pleasure of the assemble, whosone the sam was throuche and at a point with the mater of the policie, and as with fear promises drifted and pat off till he gat his tyme." (Diary, p. 47.)

† Melville's Diary, p. 46.

of the General Assembly; and subscribed to all the leading articles in the Book of Discipline concerning episcopacy and ecclesiastical government; but it was too apparent from the whole of his conduct that his professions were illusory and hypocritical\*. Cunningham, who succeeded him as chaplain to the Regent, was soon after advanced to the bishopric of Aberdeen†.

The same arts of corruption, by which the court detached Adamson and Cunningham from the cause of Presbytery, were tried on Melville. We have already seen the advances made and the prospects held out to him on the part of the Regent, at his arrival in Scotland‡. Upon the death of Douglas, the archbishopric of St. Andrews was intended for him, and it was not until all hopes of his complying with the court-measures had failed, that it was bestowed on Adamson§. He was next offered the rich benefice of Govan, on the condition of his desisting from opposition to the bishops. This offer he at once rejected; but as the parish lay in the vicinity of Glasgow, and could be served by the professors, he used all his influence to have the living annexed to the University. The Regent kept it in

\* Bulk of the Univ. Kirk, pp. 89. 90. 100. Cald. MS, vol. ii. pp. 510. 565. 585. 636. Melville's Diary, p. 49. A great part of the procedure of the Assembly respecting the bishops is wanting in the records, in consequence of the leaves having been torn out by Arran and Adamson during their administration. (Cald. ii. 540. 566. 630. 636.)

† Melville's Diary, p. 46.

‡ See above, p. 87.

§ Melville's Diary, p. 38.



his own hands for two years, giving out that the Principal, "by his new opinions and over-sea dreams," defrauded the College of this valuable addition to its slender revenues. Nor were there wanting some individuals connected with the University who murmured against him on this account, and wounded his feelings by reflections equally illiberal and unjust. But as his independence of mind had prompted him to reject personal favours, so his firmness and conscious integrity enabled him to disregard such unmerited imputations, and he continued steadily to pursue what he conceived to be the line of his duty\*.

In October, 1577, the Regent sent a message to the General Assembly, informing them that the Protestants of Germany intended to hold a General Council at Magdeburgh for establishing the Augsburg Confession, at which they wished deputies from the different Protestant countries to be present; desiring the Assembly to name such individuals as they judged most proper for that employment; and promising that he would defray the expenses of their journey. The Assembly nominated eight of their number, and left it to the Regent to select from them such as he thought most fit for the embassy. He accordingly fixed on Melville, Arbuthnot, and George Hay†. But whether he grudged

\* Melville's Diary, pp. 43, 44.

† The other individuals named by the Assembly, and who on this account may be considered as the ablest among the ministers, were Adamson, Cunningham, Pont, Christison, and David Lindsay.

the expenses which would have been incurred, or had, from the first, intended merely to pay a compliment to the church and the individuals selected, it is certain that Morton, although urged by the Assembly, took no farther step in that affair\*.

When he saw that Melville could not be bribed or flattered, the Regent next attempted to overawe him by authority, and to work on his fears by threatening to proceed against him for treason. While the Assembly were taking some measures that were disagreeable to him, he one day sent for Melville to his chamber. After discoursing for some time on the importance of preserving the peace of the church and kingdom, he began to complain that the public tranquillity was in danger from certain persons, who sought to introduce their own private conceits and foreign laws on points of ecclesiastical government. Melville explained, by telling his Grace, that he and his brethren took the Scriptures, and not their own fancies or the model of any foreign church, for the rule and standard of the discipline which they defended. Morton said, that the General Assembly was a convocation of the King's lieges, and that it was treasonable for them to meet without his allowance. To this Melville answered, that, if it were so, then Christ and his apostles must have been guilty of treason, for they convoked hundreds and thousands, and taught and governed them, without asking the permission of magistrates; and yet they

\* Buik of the Univ. Kirk, p. 72. Melville's Diary, p. 46.

were obedient subjects, and commanded the people to give what was due unto Cæsar. Having appealed in proof of this assertion to the *Acts of the Apostles*, the Regent replied scornfully, "Read ye ever such an *Act* as we did at St. Johnston?" referring to the armed resistance which the Lords of the Congregation made to the Queen Regent at Perth in the beginning of the Reformation. "My Lord," answered Melville, "if ye be ashamed of that act, Christ will be ashamed of you." He added, 'that in a great crisis the conduct of men was not to be rigidly scanned by common rules, and actions which in other circumstances would be highly censurable, may be excused and even approved; as our Saviour virtually justified those who introduced to him a palsied invalid by the roof of a house, without waiting the permission of the proprietor. At that time the kingdom of heaven suffered violence, and all men pressed into it, without asking the leave of prince or emperor.' The Regent, biting the head of his staff, exclaimed in a tone of half-suppressed indignation, which few who were acquainted with his manner and temper could hear without alarm: "There will never be quietness in this country till half-a-dozen of you be hanged or banished the country."—"Tush, Sir," replied Melville, "threaten your courtiers after that manner. It is the same to me whether I rot in the air or in the ground. The earth is the Lord's. *Patria est ubicunque est bene*. I have been ready to give my life where it would

not have been half so well wared \*, at the pleasure of my God. I have lived out of your country ten years as well as in it. Let God be glorified: it will not be in your power to hang or exile his truth †."

The wisest of men are apt to become intoxicated with power. Morton possessed great political sagacity; yet he overlooked the critical situation in which he stood as entrusted with delegated and temporary authority. The nobles envied his greatness, and were irritated by the severe impartiality with which he repressed their turbulence; the commons felt oppressed by the monopolies in trade which he had granted in order to avoid the necessity of having recourse to direct taxation; his austere and supercilious treatment of the ministers of the church cooled their attachment to his administration; and he had neglected to secure the fidelity of those who were placed about the person of the young king. In these circumstances a party of discontented nobles having gained access to the prince, persuaded him, although only in the twelfth year of his age, to assume the government; and so strongly did public opinion incline to the change, that Morton judged it prudent to give way to it, and formally resigned the regency ‡. It was not long till the

\* Expended.

† Melville's Diary, p. 52. Referring to Morton's threats against him, his nephew says—"Manie siclyk hes he hard, and far ma reported in mair ferfull form, bot for all never jarged a jot ather from the substance of the cause, or forme of proceeding tharin." Ib.

‡ He resigned the regency on the 6th of March 1578; "he being wearie of ye burding thair of, and be his earnest cair and travell takin

new counsellors became unpopular; and Morton, taking advantage of this sudden turn of public feeling, re-appeared at court, and, without the invidious title of regent, regained his former influence. But, after what had happened, it could not be stable or permanent; and his adversaries, by insinuating themselves into the royal favour, undermined his authority and precipitated his fall.

These revolutions in the political administration of the kingdom were so far favourable to the church. Had Morton's authority remained undisturbed, or had the adverse faction not felt the necessity of strengthening themselves against him, it is not improbable that force would have been employed to stop those ecclesiastical proceedings to which both parties were equally averse. The King, by the advice of his counsellors, returned a very gracious answer to the General Assembly, when they presented the Book of Discipline to him upon his assumption of the government; and at a conference held at Edinburgh between commissioners from the privy council and the church, all the heads of that book were agreed to, with the exception of four which were subsequently explained by the Assembly\*. But when laid before the ensuing meeting

thairin. As also be ressoun of his great age, being now past threescoir ane zeiris. And y<sup>t</sup>with being in his persoun seiklie and vnhabill" &c. (Record of Privy Seal, vol. 45. fol. 56.) In Sept. 11, 1578, he obtained a license to seek "in foreign countries" a remedy for his "infirmities and diseases." (Ibid. fol. 79.)

\* Buik of the Univ Kirk, p. 76, 77. Melville's Diary, p. 49. The minutes of the conference which was held at Edinburgh, June 23,

of parliament, its ratification was evaded, and a committee appointed to re-examine it, by whose proceedings the whole subject was thrown loose, and points formerly conceded were again brought into debate \*. The reconciliation of the two political parties was chiefly effected by the influence of the church, which was treated as mediators have often been †; and the General Assembly soon after received a letter from the king couched in language very different from the reply which he had at first returned to their deputies ‡.

In the midst of these changes of men and measures, the country suffered a severe loss by the death of the Chancellor Glamis, who was casually slain in one of those affrays which were then so frequent among the retainers of the nobility. He was a nobleman of great wisdom and integrity, a patron of learning, and a sincere friend to the reformed religion §. With the view of bringing the disputes on church-government to an amicable adjustment, he

1578, were torn out of the register of the General Assembly. (Cald. MS. vol. ii. pp. 539—541.)

\* Cald. MS. vol. ii. pp. 545-6. The whole proceedings of this committee, which met at Stirling, Dec. 22—29, 1578, are inserted Cald. ut sup. pp. 569—577. In Spotswood's History, (pp. 289—301.) their opinion of the several propositions in the Book of Discipline is printed on the margin, but inaccurately in several instances.

† Cald. ii. 549.

‡ Ibid. p. 579. Spotsw. 308.

§ The following epitaph was composed by Melville on the Chancellor, whose name was *Lyon* :

Tu, Leo magne, jaces inglorius : ergo manebunt  
Qualia fata canes ? qualia fata sues ?

(Melville's Diary, p. 47.)

had carried on an epistolary correspondence with Beza, who composed a short treatise in answer to the queries which the Chancellor proposed to him on that subject. These queries form a very important document. They shew that the opposers of the Presbyterian polity did not merely object to some of the distinguishing features and subordinate parts of the system, but that they were in reality averse to the whole discipline and jurisdiction of the church, and aimed at subjecting the freedom of her assemblies, and the validity of her sentences, to the arbitrary will and determination of the court. Beza proved himself a true friend to the church of Scotland on this occasion. His judgment on all the questions submitted to him was decidedly in favour of the principles laid down in the Book of Discipline; and as his treatise was printed and soon after translated into English, the authority of his name and the force of his arguments had great influence on the public mind\*.

“During these contentions in the state, (says Spotswood) Mr. Andrew Melvil held the church busied with the matter of policy.” The letters which he wrote about this time certainly shew that he was neither idle nor indifferent in this business. In a letter addressed to John Row he expresses great anxiety to learn the particulars of the conference, or “archiepiscopal skirmishing,” as he calls it, at Stirling†. In another letter, addressed

\* See Note T.

† 15 Cal. Feb. 1578. MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 9.

to Alexander Arbuthnot, he adverts, in his lively manner, to the continual bustle in which he and his brethren had been kept by attending to this affair. "What shall I say on the subject of the ecclesiastical discipline, in which we have laboured so sedulously but with so little success? Shall I tell you what we have done during this and the preceding year, when called sometimes to Stirling and sometimes to Edinburgh, now by letters from the King and then by letters from the Council, at one time by an order from the Estates and at another by appointment of the Assemblies of the church? Shall I write of our doings in August last, during the whole of October, and in the course of the present month \*?" To his friend Beza † he gives a more precise account of the sentiments of their opponents, and the true causes which hindered the establishment of the discipline. "Those who have grown rich by sacrilege, and loaded themselves with the spoils of Christ, deny that ecclesiastical discipline is to be derived from the word of God and to be executed by the interpreters of Scripture. They wish to have it moulded entirely according to the dictates of human reason, and transferred to the cognizance of the civil magistrate. They insist that the work of framing an ecclesiastical polity shall be committed to wrangling lawyers, and to persons that are

\* 4 Sept. 1579. MS. ut supra.

† Melville received letters from Beza about this time, though I have not met with any of them. (Diary, p. 42.)



illiterate, or at least unskilled in divine things. And merely because they belong to the church, they maintain that such persons have authority and power, not only to give their approbation to what has been rightly done by presbyteries constituted according to the word of God, but also to sit themselves as judges in sacred causes, and to rescind at their pleasure the sentences and constitutions of the doctors and pastors." In another letter to the same individual, he says: "We have now for five years maintained a warfare against pseudo-episcopacy, and have not ceased to urge the adoption of a strict discipline. We have presented to his Majesty, and the three Estates of the kingdom, at different times, and recently to the Parliament which is now sitting, a form of discipline to be enacted and confirmed by public authority. The king is favourably inclined to us; almost all the nobility are averse. They complain that if pseudo-episcopacy be abolished, the state of the kingdom will be overturned; if presbyteries be established, the royal authority will be diminished; if the ecclesiastical goods are restored to their legitimate use, the royal treasury will be exhausted. They plead that bishops, with abbots and priors, form the third estate in parliament, that all jurisdiction, ecclesiastical as well as civil, pertains solely to the king and his council, and that the whole of the ecclesiastical property should go into the exchequer. In many this way of speaking and thinking may be traced to ignorance; in more to a flagitious life and bad morals; in almost all to a de-

sire of seizing such of the church property as yet remains, and the dread of losing what they have already got into their possession. They also insist that the sentence of excommunication shall not be held valid until it has been approved by the king's council after taking cognizance of the cause. For, being conscious of their own vices, they are afraid of the sentence of the presbytery, not so much from the awe in which they stand of the divine judgment, as from terror of the civil penalties, which, according to the laws and custom of our country, accompany the sentence of excommunication. In fine, while they judge according to the dictates of the carnal mind instead of the revealed will of God, they desire to have every thing done by the authority of a single bishop and perpetual overseer of the churches, rather than by the common sentence of presbyters possessing equal authority. May God shew mercy to his church, and remove these evils \*."

From the manner in which Melville mentions the civil penalties that accompanied excommunication, it is evident that he did not look upon them as forming any part of the ecclesiastical discipline, or even as a necessary appendage to it. The laws enacting them were allowed to remain in force at the time of the Reformation, and they afforded the most plausible pretext for the control which the

\* A. M. Th. Bezæ, Cal. Octob. 1578; and Id. Novemb. 1579. MS. ut supra.

court claimed over the sentences of the church. It was, however, only a pretext; for the government suspended the execution of these laws whenever they pleased, and the legislature had it in their power at any time to abrogate them entirely. Some of the ministers would have been pleased with their abrogation \*. Such of them as wished for their continuance were chiefly influenced by two reasons; first, the government was extremely remiss and partial in proceeding against certain vices and crimes which merited civil punishment, and of which the church-courts took regular cognizance as scandals; and, secondly, they reckoned the penal laws necessary as a protection against the attempts of the papists, whom the court was too frequently disposed to favour. There can be no doubt that they were one means of saving the country from the popish conspiracies about the time of the Spanish Armada; but still they were radically wrong, capable of being made an engine of the grossest persecution, and consequently were wisely and happily abolished at a subsequent period.

Amidst these important occupations, the General Assembly found leisure to attend to the interests of learning. In March, 1575, they enacted that no person unacquainted with the Latin language, should afterwards be admitted to the ministry, unless he was distinguished by a more than ordinary degree of natural gifts and of piety. At their sub-

\* Calderwood, *Altare Damasc.* pp. 312-13. Edit. 2.

sequent meeting they petitioned the Regent in behalf of schools and colleges, and requested him to make provision for such young men of talents as the church should think proper to send to foreign universities to complete their education. Being informed by Melville, that a learned printer, who had been obliged to leave France for the sake of religion, was willing to settle in Scotland, and promised to procure a regular supply of all books printed in France and Germany, they warmly recommended it to the Regent to grant him the pension which he demanded. It is probable that the individual referred to was Andrew Wechel, whose establishment in this country would have been highly favourable to its literature. There is reason to think that the parsimony of Morton defeated the enlightened plan of the Assembly. Some years after we find them applying to the King to procure Vaultroulier, another printer, who accordingly came and remained for a short time in the country. It was also under their patronage and special direction, that the first edition of the Bible printed in Scotland was undertaken, and made its appearance in the year 1579\*.

Another important object which engaged the Assembly's attention at this time was the reformation and new-modelling of the universities. Melville had contemplated this measure ever since his settlement at Glasgow. In the year 1575, he had

\* See Note U.

a meeting with Alexander Arbuthnot, the learned and amiable Principal of King's College, Aberdeen, at which they agreed on a new constitution for the seminaries over which they respectively presided \*. But he was still more impressed with the importance of improving the university of St. Andrews, which surpassed the other two in revenue and in the number of students. The most eligible plan for attaining this object formed the topic of serious inquiry in consultations held between him and Thomas Smeton, minister of Paisley †. Melville used all his influence with the leading persons in church and state to accomplish this favourite design; and he had at length the satisfaction to see the new constitution of the University of St. Andrews approved of by the General Assembly and ratified by Parliament. A more particular account of it will be afterwards given: at present I shall merely advert to one part of the plan. St. Mary's or the New College was converted entirely into a school of divinity, in which provision was made for a complete course of theological instruction. Five professorships were instituted in it; one for oriental languages, three for the critical interpreta-

\* "After the Assemblie we past to Angus in companie w<sup>th</sup> Mr. Alex<sup>r</sup>. Arbuthnot, a man of singular gifts of lerning, wisdome, godliness and sweitnes of nature, then principall of the college of Aberdeen, whomwith Mr. Andro communicat anent ye order of his college in doctrine and discipline; and aggreit as y<sup>e</sup>fter was sett down in the new reformation of the said College of Glasgow and Aberdein." Melville's Diary, p. 43.

† Ibid. p. 58.

tion of the Old and New Testaments, and one for systematic theology\*.

There was but one opinion as to the person who was best qualified for being placed at the head of the new theological college. In October, 1580, the King directed a letter to the General Assembly, requesting them to concur with him in translating Melville to St. Andrews, and appointing Smeton to fill his place at Glasgow. Considerable opposition was at first made to this proposal. The translation of Melville was warmly opposed by the University of Glasgow. He was himself averse to leave a seminary which had flourished so greatly under his care, and to disoblige its patrons, who had treated him with the utmost kindness and were willing to do every thing in their power to make his situation more easy and comfortable. Nor could he be altogether indifferent to the difficulties which he might expect to meet with at St. Andrews†. Smeton's appointment to be his successor was also opposed by several members, who scrupled at the idea of taking a minister from a congregation and appointing him to exercise the doctoral instead of the pastoral office. The Assembly first resolved, that they might concur with his Majesty in translating teachers of divinity from one university to another. At a subsequent session they agreed, that it was lawful in certain circumstances to require a pastor,

\* Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. iii. pp. 178—182.

† Melvini Epistolæ, p. 70.

to desist from his office, at least for a time, and to devote himself to the teaching of divinity. Upon this the Assembly, "for the weal and universal profit of the church of God within this realm," ordained, that, agreeably to the King's letter, Melville should be translated to the new College of St. Andrews, and that Smeton should succeed to his present situation. From this deed, Andrew Hay, as rector of the University of Glasgow, dissented, as he had done at the previous stages of procedure in this affair. His dissent was dictated by zeal for the prosperity of the institution which he governed, and by attachment to Melville, and did not argue the slightest disrespect to the individual appointed to succeed him \*.

Legal measures were immediately taken to secure a compliance with this decision, and Melville prepared to remove from Glasgow. This he did with less reluctance, as he devolved his charge upon his most intimate friend, of whose learning and sound principles he entertained the highest opinion. Having formally resigned his office †, he left Glasgow,

\* Buik of Univ. Kirk, pp. 99—101. Cald. MS. vol. ii. pp. 637. 640. 643.

† Smeton's appointment to be Principal passed the privy seal on the 3d of January 1587. "Ane letter maid Makand mentioun that our Soverane Lord vnderstanding that the place of the principal maister within the College of Glasgow now vaikis be the transporting of maister andro Mailuile principall thair of for the tyme to the new college of Sanctandrois and that necessar it is to haif ane Idoneus and qualifit persoun electit in that place and office that wilbe able to discharge his cure & dewtie thairin in tyme cuming. And his hienes

in the end of November, 1580, "with infinite tears on both sides;" those individuals who had at first disliked and opposed him being among the most forward to testify their regret at his departure\*.

Melville was at this time deprived of a highly respected friend, and the church of a valuable pastor, by the death of John Row, who had officiated as minister of Perth since the establishment of the Reformation. Row is entitled to notice as one of the revivers of the literature, as well as a reformer of the religion, of his native country. His literary attainments were very considerable for the time at which he received his education; and they were combined with much piety, candour, disinterestedness, and courage, in the cause of truth†. He departed this life a few days before the meeting of the General Assembly which decided on Melville's translation to St. Andrews‡; and the town of Perth in-

being informit of the literature and qualificatioun within the College of his lout clerk Mr. Thomas Smetoun for using of the office of principall maister within the college foirsaid. Thairfor hes nominat and presentit him to the place and office foirsaid with all privileges and dewties pertening thairto. At Halyrudhous Jan. 3. 1580." (Register of Privy Seal, vol. xlvii. fol. 61.)

\* Melville's Diary, p. 64.

† Bannatyne's Journal, p. 257. Melville's Diary, p. 64. Spotswood, Hist. 311. Life of John Knox, vol. ii. p. 18.

It appears from the following article in the Inventory of goods belonging to Thomas Bassenden, printer in Edinburgh, that Row was an author: "Item, ane Mr Johne rowes signes of y<sup>e</sup> sacramētes, price, xiid." (Commissary Records of Edinburgh.)

‡ Row died on the 16th of October 1580. (Scott's Hist. of the Scottish Reformers, p. 194. And Extracts from Registers among Mr. Scott's MSS. now in the Advocates' Library.)



stantly petitioned to have his room filled by Smeton, a circumstance which increased the opposition made in the Assembly to the settlement of the latter in the University of Glasgow.

## CHAPTER IV.

*MELVILLE installed Principal of the New College, St. Andrews—His Colleagues—Character of his Theological Lectures—Meets with Opposition from the Ejected Teachers—Offence taken at his Censures of Aristotle—Favourable Change on the University—State of Politics—Dangerous Schemes of Lennox and Arran—National Covenant—Episcopacy revived—Montgomery made Archbishop of Glasgow—Prosecuted by Melville—Excommunicated—Resentment of the Court—Melville's Sermon before the General Assembly—His Intrepid Conduct at Perth—The Raid of Ruthven—Melville employed in Preaching at St. Andrews—Arran recovers his Interest at Court—Death of Winram—Of Buchanan—Of Arbuthnot—Of Smeton—Melville Summoned before the Privy Council—His Trial—His flight into England—Remarks upon his Declinature—Conduct of Archbishop Adamson in England—Overthrow of Presbytery—Persecution of Ministers—State of the University after the Flight of Melville—He visits the English Universities—Death of Lawson—Tyranny of the Scottish Court—Melville returns to Scotland with the Banished Lords.*

**I**N the month of December 1580, Melville went to St. Andrews, accompanied by Sir Andrew Ker of Fadounside, the lairds of Braid and Lundie, and

James Lawson and John Dury, ministers of Edinburgh, as commissioners from the Parliament and General Assembly \*. Being formally installed as Principal of the New College, he pronounced his inaugural oration, and proceeded to give lectures on the system of theology.

He had obtained liberty to select from the university of Glasgow such as he thought best qualified for teaching the sacred languages under him; but as he was averse to hurt that rising institution and to weaken the hands of his successor, he contented himself with taking along with him his nephew, James Melville, who, being admitted professor of the oriental tongues, began to give lessons on Hebrew. At the same time, John Robertson commenced teaching in the Greek New Testament. The talents and literature of Robertson were not of a superior order †; but as he was unexceptionable in other respects, and had long been a regent in that college, it was not judged proper to displace him, and the Principal exerted himself in supplying his deficiencies ‡. These were all the professors appointed at this time; the commissioners having resolved that the two other places

\* According to Calderwood, the persons nominated by the General Assembly to attend him, were "the Lairds of Lundie, of Segy, and Colluthie, with Mr. Robert Pont, Mr. James Lawson, and William Christieson." (MS. Hist. vol. iii. p. 642.)

† Dr. Lee is of opinion that, if a judgment may be formed from the books on which his name still appears, Robertson was not devoid of taste for polite letters.

‡ Melville's Diary, p. 65.

should not be filled until those who held bursaries of philosophy in the college had finished their period of study\*.

The ability with which Melville went through his first course of lectures at St Andrews is acknowledged by his greatest enemies. Of this the testimony of the biographer and son-in-law of Adamson may be regarded as a satisfactory proof. "To confess the truth (says he) candidly and ingenuously, Melville was a learned man; though more qualified for ruling in the schools than in the church or commonwealth. Of his first course, extending to four or five years, I can speak from personal knowledge, having been one of his eager and constant hearers. He taught learnedly and perfectly the knowledge and practice of the Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, and Rabbinical languages. At the same time, he elucidated with much erudition and accuracy the heads of theology, as laid down in the Institutions of John Calvin and other writings of approved divines, together with the principal books of both Testaments, and the most difficult and abstruse mysteries of revealed religion †."

\* Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 181.

† Vita Patricii Adamsoni: Opera Tho. Voluseni J. C. p. 4. Lond. 1619. 12mo. Thomas Wilson, "in coll. novo," was made A.M. in 1577; but he probably remained in it after that period as a bursar or student of theology. For, Mr. Thomas Vilsonus is among those who subscribed the articles of religion "in Collegio Mariano," from 1580 to 1587. His name occurs in a list of advocates for the year 1585. (Records of the Hospital of Perth.)

His lectures excited a new interest in the university, and were attended by several of the masters in the other colleges, who were conscious of their deficiency in those branches of learning in which he excelled, and not ashamed to be taught after they had become the teachers of others. Among these was the amiable Robert Rollock, at that time a regent in St. Salvator's College, and soon after chosen to be the first Professor and Principal in the newly erected university of Edinburgh\*.

Notwithstanding these gratifying testimonies of approbation, Melville was not disappointed in his anticipation of the difficulties which he would meet with in his new situation. It was not to be expected that the extensive changes prescribed by the late act of Parliament could be carried into effect without causing umbrage and dissatisfactions in the university. To introduce a reform into old corporations has always been found a difficult task ; and self-interest has a powerful influence on learned bodies, as well as on those which are constituted for purposes of a more worldly nature. Some of the teachers were offended at losing their places, and others at finding their salaries reduced ; the new regulations respecting the mode of teaching were alarming to the indolence of some, and revolting to the prejudices of others. All of them were disposed, however unreasonably, to impute their sufferings to Melville. Skene and Welwood, the professors of law

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\* Melville's Diary, p. 66.

and mathematics, had been removed from the New College to that of St. Salvator. Their admission was opposed by the masters of the latter, who alleged that its funds were inadequate for such an additional burden, and that the new professorships were quite superfluous\*.

Robert Hamilton, who had been deprived of the provostship of the New College, vented his chagrin by commencing a process against his successor for arrears which he alleged to be due him. Melville, when he accepted the office, had insisted that all accounts should be settled before he entered on its duties; and he not unreasonably looked to the parliamentary commissioners for relief from the trouble and expense of litigation. He found himself, however, involved in both. The death of Hamilton† suspended the process; but it was revived by the person who married his widow. This was Tho-

\* In a supplication to the Privy Council, by the Chancellor, &c. of the University, against Mr. William Welwood, professor of mathematics, dated 26th July, 1583, the petitioners say, that Welwood "hes employed no diligence in that profession of mathematik this yeir,"—that the "college is superexpendit, and that the smalness of the rent is not able to susteine sik extraordinar professors,"—and they offer to prove "the said extraordinar professors to be superfluous and unprofitable in the universitie—because no ordinar auditour can be found to resort fruitfullie to the said extraordinar professouris." The presentation of Mr. Robert Wilkie, to be chaplain of the altar of St. John the Evangelist and Mary Magdelene, "ult. Mart. 1578," was subscribed before "Mag. W<sup>mo</sup> Walwod tertio Mag<sup>ro</sup> Novi Collegii." (Papers of the University.)

† He died April 16, 1581. (Register of Commissary Decrees, Nov. 13, 1596.)

mas Buchanan, master of the grammar-school of Stirling, who had lately been appointed provost of the collegiate church of Kirkheugh, and minister of Ceres, in the neighbourhood of St. Andrews \*. He was an intimate friend of Melville, who felt hurt at being harassed by an individual to whose sympathy and help he trusted when he undertook his present difficult charge †.

\* The Church of Kirkheuch, Kirkhill, or our Lady of the Rock, was situated beside the harbour of St. Andrews. The parish of Ceres was attached to it, as a prebend or provision for the provost. "Jacobus Allerdeis" was "Præpositus Ecclesiæ Collegiæ Beatae Mariæ Virginis, in rupe præpe civitatem S. Andree," before the Reformation. "Mr. James Lermouth, provost of Kirkhill, besyde the cite of St. And." lets lands in parochie of Seres, Dec. 7, 1565; and Sept. 16; 1570. (Commissary Records of St. Andrews.) "Mr. Thomas buchannaine" presented to "the prouestrie of Kirkhill," April 1, 1578, in the room of umqll Mr. James Lermouth. (Reg. of Presentations to Benefices, vol. ii. f. 1.)

† The dispute was finally settled, by allotting a glebe belonging to the college to Hamilton's relict during life. (Melville's Diary, p. 91.) "Elspet Traill ane of the dochteris and airis of umqll Jhone Traill younger of Magask my fader, and ane of the ovis and apperand airis of umqll Jhone Traill of Blebow my gude<sup>r</sup> with spetiall advys consent and assent of Mr. Robert Hamiltown now my spouse," &c. (Commissary Record of St. And. A<sup>o</sup> 1567.) In a process before the Magistrates of St. Andrews, in which Thomas Buchanan and Elizabeth Traill his spouse were defenders, it was pleaded, that "Mr. Thomas Buchquhanan is suppost of the universitie of St. And<sup>e</sup> and ane actuall student of theologie, and y<sup>r</sup>bye the said cause should be remittit to the rector and his off<sup>rs</sup> (assessors) as only juges competent y<sup>r</sup>to, and the provest and baillies aucht to declair thaimselfis incompetent in the said caus." The pursuer pleaded that "the former allegiance aucht and sould be repellit, in respect of his bill conceavit upon ane deid don betwix Helene Hunter, spouse to the said persewar, and the said Elizabeth Traill quha is na suppost of the universitie, and the

John Caldcleugh, one of the outed regents, was extremely noisy with his complaints, and boasted in all companies that he would "*hough* the new-made Principal," whenever he met him. He one day burst into Melville's chamber, and demanded rudely, if he knew him. Melville said, he did not. "I should be known as a master of this college: my name is Mr. John Caldcleugh."—"Ho! is this you that will hough men?" replied Melville; and, barring the door, told him that they were now alone, and he had a fair opportunity of carrying his threats into execution. Caldcleugh's choler and courage immediately fell; upon which Melville gave him such a severe and at the same time friendly lecture on the impropriety of his conduct, that he went away quite mortified and humbled, accepted of a bursary in the college, and lived in it quietly as a student until he was called to act as a professor\*.

The discontents of the excluded masters were scarcely allayed, when a greater storm arose from the other colleges. In the course of his lectures on the system of theology, Melville took occasion, when treating of the Being and Attributes of God, Creation, and Providence, to expose the errors contained in the writings of Aristotle; and to shew that they were inconsistent with the principles of

said Mr. Thomas onlie convenit for his enteris, qlk can na wayis stay this actioun, bot the bailleis in respect y'of aucht to proceed heiruntill." (Barrow Court of St. Andrews, Dec. 14, 1591.)

\* "I was in the chalmer abon (says James Melville) and hard all, and cam down at last to the ending of it." (Diary, pp. 91, 92.)



both natural and revealed religion. No sooner was this known, than the professors of philosophy raised an outcry against him, almost as violent as that of the craftsmen of Ephesus, when the Apostle preached against idolatry, and from motives not essentially different from theirs \*. They complained that their character was attacked, and their credit undermined: and that a philosopher who had been held immemorially in veneration in all the schools of the world, was falsely accused and indecently traduced. So zealous were the members of St. Leonard's College, that they delivered solemn orations in defence of Aristotle, containing invectives against the individual who had been so presumptuous as to condemn their oracle; by which means the minds of the students were inflamed, and Melville was exposed to personal danger.

*Tune cede malis, sed contra audentior ito*, was Melville's motto, and the principle by which he was guided on all such occasions†. Disregarding the ignorant clamour and interested alarm which had been excited, he persisted in the course which he had taken; and, when the subject was introduced in the public meetings of the university at vacations and promotions, he refuted the arguments of his opponents with such readiness, force of reasoning, and overpowering eloquence, as reduced them to silence. Before he had

\* " Their breadwinner, their honor, their estimation, all was gone, if Aristotle should be so owirharled in the heiring of their scholars." (Diary, p. 92.)

† Melvini Epist. p. 70.

been two years at St. Andrews, a favourable change was visible on the university. Many of those who had been most strongly prejudiced against *the new learning*, as they called it, were induced to apply to the acquisition of ancient languages. Instead of boasting perpetually of the authority of Aristotle, and quoting him ignorantly at second-hand, they perused his writings in the original; studied the arts for purposes of utility, and not for shew and verbal contention; and, becoming real philosophers and theologians, acknowledged that they had undergone "a wonderful transportation out of darkness into light." Among these were John Malcolm and Andrew Duncan, then regents of St. Leonard's, and afterwards ministers of Perth and Crail, who from being among the keenest opponents, were converted into warm admirers and steady friends of Melville\*.

From his academical labours, Melville was summoned to the defence of the liberties of the church, and the ecclesiastical polity which he had been so active in establishing. Soon after James had taken the reins of government into his own hands, Esme Stewart, Lord d'Aubigné, a cousin of

\* Melville's Diary, p. 92. John Malcolm was the son of Andrew Malcolm, who (in instrument of sasine to Menedy Roger, Oct. 29, 1577,) is called "Providus vir Andreas Malcolme, pistor burgen. burgi de Perth."—I have a copy of the History of Polybius (Basilee 1549. Folio. Gr. & Lat.) which has the following inscription on the title-page in Melville's hand-writing: "Andreas Melvius me jure possidet, ex dono Joannis Malcolmi. ΤΗΣ «ΘΙΩ ΦΙΛΙΩΣ ΙΩΝΟΣ ΑΡΒΑΝΟΥΤΙΩΝ."

his father's, arrived from France. He gave out that he came to pay a short visit to his royal relative, and to claim certain lands which had descended to him from his ancestors; but excuses were found for prolonging his stay, and it soon appeared, that his journey had been undertaken with the view of advancing more serious and extensive designs. Since the coronation of James, all intercourse between the courts of Scotland and France had been broken off, and those who were successively entrusted with the regency had cultivated an exclusive connection with England. The present was deemed, by the king of France and house of Guise, a favourable opportunity for recovering their influence over the counsels of this country, and d'Aubigné was judged a fit instrument for accomplishing this object by insinuating himself into the favour of the young monarch. His prepossessing person and engaging manners made an easy conquest of the royal affections; and he quickly rose, through a gradation of honours, to be Duke of Lennox, and Lord High Chamberlain. Under his influence the court underwent a complete change, and was filled with persons who were addicted to popery, or who had uniformly opposed the king's authority, or whose private characters rendered them totally unworthy of access to the royal ear. Among these was Captain James Stewart, a son of Lord Ochiltree, and a man of the most profligate manners and unprincipled ambition. By these upstarts the design was undertaken of exchanging

the friendship of England for that of France, and of associating the name of Queen Mary with that of her son in the government of the kingdom; a design which could not be carried into execution without overturning all that had been done during fourteen years, and exposing the national liberties and the Protestant establishment to the utmost peril\*.

This change on the court could not fail to alarm the ministers of the church, who had received satisfactory information of the project that was on foot. Their fears were confirmed by the arrival of jesuits and seminary priests from abroad, and by the open revolt of several persons of great influence at home who had hitherto professed the Protestant faith. They accordingly warned their hearers of the danger which they apprehended, and pointed at the favourite as an emissary of the house of Guise and of Rome. Lennox, after holding a conference with some of the ministers, declared himself a convert to the Protestant doctrine, and publicly renounced the popish religion†. This recantation allayed the jealousy of the nation. But it was soon after revived and kindled into a flame by the interception of letters from Rome, granting a dispensation to the Roman Catholics to profess the Protestant tenets for a time, provided they preserved an inward attachment to the ancient faith, and embraced every

\* See Note V.

† Buik of the Universall Kirk, pp. 96—99.

opportunity of advancing it in secret \*. This discovery was the immediate occasion of that memorable transaction, the swearing of the *National Covenant*. It was drawn up by John Craig, and consisted of an abjuration, in the most solemn and explicit terms, of the various articles of the popish system, and an engagement to adhere to and defend the doctrine and discipline of the reformed church in Scotland. As the stability of the Protestant religion depended "upon the safety and good behaviour of the King's Majesty, as upon a comfortable instrument of God's mercy granted to this country," the covenanters pledged themselves farther, "under the same oath, hand-writ, and pains, that we shall defend his person and authority with our goods, bodies, and lives, in the defence of Christ's evangel, liberties of our country, ministration of justice, and punishment of iniquity, against all enemies within this realm or without." This bond was sworn and subscribed by the King and his household, and afterwards, in consequence of an order of the Privy Council and an act of the General Assembly, by all ranks of persons through the kingdom; the ministers zealously promoting the subscription of it in their respective parishes †.

\* Spotswood, p. 808. Strype's Annals, vol. ii. pp. 630, 631.

† The subscriptions to the National Covenant in the united parishes of Anstruther, Pittenweem, and Abercromby, amounted to 743; and are still preserved with the attestation of Mr. William Clark, the minister, and two witnesses. (Register of the Kirk Session of Anstruther.)

This solemn transaction had a powerful influence in rivetting the attachment of the nation to the Protestant religion, but it did not prevent those who had engrossed the royal favour from prosecuting the designs which they had formed. The uncomplying spirit of presbytery has always rendered it odious to despotical rulers. But in addition to this feeling, Lennox and his associates were actuated by the desire of revenging the affronts which they thought had been put on them by the preachers, and of gratifying their rapacity by seizing on the ecclesiastical livings. They accordingly resolved on restoring episcopacy, and filling the bishoprics with creatures of their own.

The death of Archbishop Boyd afforded them an opportunity of commencing their scheme. Though the regulations recognizing episcopacy, which were made at Leith in 1572, had been formally abrogated by the General Assembly, and abandoned and virtually annulled by the court\*, yet were they now

\* In consequence of a supplication from the church—"The Lords of Secret Counsell thinkis meit and advyses the Kings Maitie to suspend his hienis handis on making any gift grant or promeis of the prelacies abonewritten (Aberbrothock and Paisley) or any part yrof, qlk may hinder and prejudge the dissolution of the same according to the forme els intendit and thocht meit to be done. And ordainis this pnt act to be maide heirupone ad futuram rei memoriam," (Record of Privy Council, June 2, 1579.) On the 9th of May 1681, "the King's Maitie with advys of the Lords of Secret Counsell," finding that the constitution of the ecclesiastical policy would not be permanent, "quhill the auncient boundis of the diocies be dissolved, quhair the parochines ar thick togidder and small to be vneitted, and quhair they ar of over great and lairge boundis to be devydit, that thairefter

revived by an act of Privy Council\*. The disposal of the see of Glasgow was given to Lennox, who offered it to different ministers, upon the condition of their making over to him its revenues and contenting themselves with an annual pension. The offer was at last accepted by Robert Montgomery, minister of Stirling, "a man vain, feeble, presumptuous, and more apt, by the blemishes of his character, to have alienated the people from an order already beloved, than to reconcile them to one which was the object of their hatred†." This "vile bargain‡," made at a time when the episcopal office stood condemned by the General Assembly, and tending directly to place the church at issue with the government, excited universal indignation. At the Assembly which met in October 1581, the affair was warmly taken up, and Montgomery put to the bar. The royal authority was interposed in his defence, and a message from his majesty signified, that he could not permit Montgomery to be prosecuted for accepting the bishopric, but that the Assembly might proceed against him for any thing that was faulty in his life or doctrine. Upon this Melville stood forward as his accuser, and presented a libel

presbyteries or elderships may be constituted," &c. appoints commissioners to attend to this business, (Collection of Acts of Secret Council by Sir John Hay, Clerk Register.)

\* Record of Privy Council, Octob. 28, 1581.

† Dr. Robertson.

‡ So Spotwood, in respect of the simoniacal nature of the paction, designs it.

against him, consisting of fifteen articles. Montgomery having withdrawn while the proof was taking, the Assembly remitted the process to the Presbytery of Stirling, appointing them to report their decision on it to the Provincial Synod of Lothian, who were empowered to pronounce sentence against him, if found guilty, according to the laws of the church. And in the mean time, they prohibited him from leaving his ministry at Stirling and intruding into the bishopric of Glasgow. This injunction he disobeyed. The ministers who composed the chapter of Glasgow were charged to elect him as their bishop; and upon their refusal, the Privy Council decided, that the bishopric had devolved into the hands of the king, and might be disposed of by his sole authority\*. For entering on Montgomery's cause according to the appointment of the Assembly, the members of the synod of Lothian were summoned before the Privy Council. They appeared; and Pont, in their name, after protestation of their readiness to yield all lawful obedience, declined the judgment of the council, as incompetent, according

\* Bishoprick of Glasgow devolvit in the King's hands: Record of Privy Council, April 12, 1582.—When the royal gift, bestowing the bishopric *pleno jure*, was presented to the Lords of Session for confirmation, the King discharged them, by letter, from admitting the commissioners of the church as a party. But the Lords passed an interlocutor (May 25.) sustaining their right to be heard. On this occasion the ministers had the support of all the advocates, except David Macgill, who was King's advocate and Montgomery's procurator. When the cause came to be called, the President was sent for to Dalkeith by the King, and a stop put to the process. (Cald. iii. 109.)



to the laws of the country, to take cognizance of a cause which was purely ecclesiastical \*. This was done amidst the menaces and taunts of Captain Stewart, now created Earl of Arran, who was exceedingly exasperated at seeing the King shed tears, while one of the ministers affectionately warned him to be on his guard against wicked counsellors.

Melville was chosen moderator of the General Assembly which met at St. Andrews in April 1582. Upon their taking up Montgomery's cause, as referred to them by the presbytery of Stirling, the Master of Requests presented a letter from his Majesty, desiring the Assembly not to proceed against him for any thing connected with the bishopric of Glasgow. Soon after a messenger-at-arms entered the house, and charged the moderator and members of Assembly, on the pain of rebellion, to desist entirely from the prosecution. After serious deliberation, they agreed to address a respectful letter to his Majesty; resolved that it was their duty to proceed with the trial; summoned Montgomery, who appealed to the Privy Council; ratified the sentence of the Presbytery of Stirling, suspending him from the exercise of the ministry; and, having found eight articles of the charge against him proved, declared that he had incurred the censures of deposition and excommunication. The pronouncing of the sentence was prevented by the submission of the

\* Discharge proceeding contra Mr. Robt. Montgomerie: Rec. of Privy Council, *dis ut supra*.

culprit, who appeared before the Assembly, withdrew his appeal, and solemnly promised to interfere no farther with the bishopric. Though gratified with this act of submission, the Assembly dreaded his tergiversation, and therefore gave instructions to the Presbytery of Glasgow to watch his conduct and, provided he violated his engagement, to convey information instantly to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, who were authorised to appoint one of their number to pronounce the sentence of excommunication against him. The event shewed that these precautions were not unnecessary. Urged on by his own avarice, and by the importunities of Leith, who was incensed at his designs being thwarted, the Assembly was scarcely broken up when Montgomery began to preach at court and revived his claims to the bishopric. The Presbytery of Glasgow having met in consequence of this, he entered the house in which they were assembled, accompanied by the magistrates of the city and an armed force, and presented an order from the King to stop their procedure. Upon their refusal, the moderator, John Howieson, minister of Cambuslang, was pulled out of the chair by the provost, and after being struck several times with great brutality, was conveyed to prison. For testifying their indignation at such conduct, the students of the university were dispersed by the guard and several of them wounded. But, in spite of the confusion produced by this disgraceful intrusion, the presbytery continued sitting until they finished their deed, finding,

that Montgomery had violated his promise and contravened the act of the General Assembly. This was transmitted to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, who appointed John Davidson, minister of Libberton, to excommunicate Montgomery. Davidson pronounced the sentence accordingly; and, although the court threatened and stormed, it was intimated on the succeeding Sabbath from the pulpits of Edinburgh and Glasgow, and all the surrounding churches\*.

Lennox and Arran were enraged beyond measure at this resolute behaviour of the church courts. A proclamation was issued by the Privy Council, declaring the excommunication of Montgomery to be null and void. Such as refused him payment of the episcopal rents were ordered to be imprisoned in the castle of Inverness†. The College of Glasgow was laid under a temporary interdict on account of the opposition made by its members to their new bishop. The ministers of Edinburgh, on account of their freedom in condemning the late measures of the court and pointing out the favourites as the guilty advisers of them, were repeatedly called before the council and insulted; and John

\* Bulk of the Univ. Kirk, ff. 114. 117—123. Cald. MS. vol. iii. pp. 68. 74—77. 83. 91—112. Melville's Diary, p. 95. Spotswood, pp. 316—320.

When informed that Davidson had ventured to preach in his own church on the Sabbath subsequent to the excommunication, Lennox exclaimed, *C'est un petit Diable!*

† Record of Privy Council, July 30, 1582.

Dury was banished from the capital and discharged from preaching\*.

Melville preached the sermon † at the opening of a meeting of the General Assembly, extraordinarily convened at this critical juncture of affairs. He inveighed against those who had introduced the *bladie gullie* ‡ (as he termed it) of absolute power into the country, and who sought to erect a new popedom in the person of the prince. The Pope, he said, was the first who united the ecclesiastical supremacy to the civil, which he had wrested from the emperor. Since the Reformation, he had, with the view of suppressing the Gospel, delegated his absolute power to the emperor and the kings of Spain and France; and from France, where it had produced the horrors of St. Bartholomew, it was brought into this country. He mentioned the design, then on foot, of resigning the King's authority into the hands of the Queen, which had been devised eight years ago, when he was in France, and was expressed in prints containing the figure of a queen with a child kneeling at her feet and craving her blessing. And he named Bishops Beaton and Lesley as the chief managers of that affair. "This will be called meddling with civil affairs," exclaimed he; "but these things tend to the wreck of religion, and therefore I rehearse them §."

This meeting being considered as a continuation

\* Cald. iii. 108. 114.

‡ Bloody knife or sword.

† His text was 1 Tim. iv. 10.

§ Cald. iii. 113, 114.

of the preceding Assembly, Melville was appointed to retain the chair. The Assembly drew up a spirited remonstrance to the King and council, complaining of the late proceedings and craving a redress of grievances. They complained that the authority of the church had been abrogated, her censures condemned and disannulled, and her ministers obstructed and shamefully abused in the discharge of their official duties; that his Majesty had been persuaded by some of his counsellors to lay claim to a spiritual power, as if he could not be a complete king and head of the commonwealth unless he was also head of the church; and that the two jurisdictions, which God had divided, were thus confounded, benefices conferred by absolute authority, and unworthy persons intruded into the ministerial office to gratify the will of men and advance their worldly interest, to the great hurt of religion and in direct opposition to the standing laws of the land. These complaints were arranged under fourteen heads, and the assembly concluded by "beseeching his Majesty most humbly, for the love of God who had placed his Grace on his royal throne, and had hitherto wondrously maintained and defended his authority," to redress their grievances, with "the advice of men that fear God and do tender his Grace's estate and quietness of this commonwealth." Melville was appointed, along with a number of other members, to go to Perth, where the king was then residing, and to present this remonstrance.

The favourites expressed high displeasure on hearing of this deputation, and the rumour ran that the commissioners would be massacred if they ventured to approach the court. When they reached Perth, Sir James Melville of Halhill waited on James Melville, and besought him to persuade his uncle not to appear, as Lennox and Arran were particularly incensed against him for the active part which he had taken in defeating their measures. When this advice was communicated to him, and his nephew began to urge him not to despise the friendly warning of their kinsman, Melville replied, "I am not afraid, thank God! nor feeble-spirited in the cause and message of Christ: come what God pleases to send, our commission shall be executed." Having next day obtained access to the king in council, he presented the remonstrance. When it had been read, Arran, looking round the assembly with a threatening countenance, exclaimed, "Who dares subscribe these treasonable articles?" "WE DARE," replied Melville; and advancing to the table, he took the pen from the clerk and subscribed. The other commissioners immediately followed his example. Presumptuous and daring as Arran was, he felt awed and abashed for the moment; Lennox addressed the commissioners in a conciliatory tone; and they were peaceably dismissed. Certain Englishmen, who happened to be present, expressed their astonishment at the bold carriage of the ministers, and could scarcely be persuaded that they had not an armed force at hand to support them. Well might

they be surprised ; for more than forty years elapsed after that period, before any of their countrymen were able to meet the frown of an arbitrary court with such firmness and intrepidity\*.

In all these contendings, the ministers of the church had no countenance or support from the nobility. They acted solely upon their own convictions of duty, and were not animated by any assurances of protection from the rage of those whom they offended. There is no evidence of their having been concerned in the confederacy which subsequently produced a change in the administration of the country. But, on the other hand, it is evident that their resistance contributed greatly to check the career of the favourites, and roused the nation to assert their liberties, so ignominiously trampled on by unworthy minions and insolent strangers. Had they acted in as passive a manner as the nobility had hitherto done, a despotism might have been established in the country, which nothing short of a national convulsion could have overturned. The resistance which they made to the arbitrary measures of the court was perfectly defensible and legal. While they kept within the strict line of ecclesiastical business, their procedure was authorized by law. They were entitled to disregard the prohibitory mandates which were issued, and to hold them as forged, as surreptitiously obtained, or as illegally

\* Buik of the Univ. Kirk, ff. 123—127. Melville's Diary, p. 96. Cald. MS. vol. iii. pp. 123—129. Petrie, part iii. p. 431.

granted by corrupt courtiers, who attempted to supersede the statutes of the realm and to stop the established course of justice. And they had a right to employ, in defence of their liberties, those censures which were competent to them, and which in this light had been solemnly sanctioned and repeatedly recognized by acts of the legislature. At the same time their resistance was tempered by a becoming respect for authority and a due regard to public peace. They supplicated, represented, remonstrated. No tumult was excited by them. And although pulpits were forced, and church courts violated, and ministers assaulted, they never attempted to raise the populace, nor, according to a practice common at that time, to arm their friends in their defence.

The haughtiness, rapacity, and arbitrary procedure of the favourites at length exhausted the patience of the nobles, who resolved to free themselves and their country from a disgraceful servitude. The course which they took to accomplish this was very different from the open and regular resistance maintained by the assemblies of the church. A combination having been secretly formed among the principal barons, they got possession of the king's person by surprise, and having compelled Lennox to leave the kingdom and Arran to confine himself to one of his own houses, took upon themselves the direction of public affairs. By this enterprise, known by the name of the *Raid of Ruthven*, the church was restored to her liberty, and enjoyed a tempo-



rary calm. Nothing can be a clearer proof of the haughtiness with which Lennox had used his power, and the dangerous influence which he was understood to possess over the royal mind, than the inexorable manner in which the confederated lords insisted on his quitting the country, contrasted with their conduct to Arran, whose personal character and private manners were incomparably more hateful and detested. If they were really actuated by any favour for the latter, or, which is the more probable supposition, if they imagined that the detestation felt at his vices would prevent him from ever regaining his former influence, they were soon undeceived and smarted severely for their criminal partiality or impolitic forbearance.

While Melville was engaged in this contest in behalf of the liberties of the church, he found himself involved in the performance of extraordinary duty at St. Andrews. On the abolition of episcopacy, when the General Assembly required the bishops to undertake individually the charge of a particular congregation, Archbishop Adamson commenced preaching as colleague to Robert Hamilton, the minister of St. Andrews. But, as the archbishop had frequently occasion to be absent, and did not always feel himself disposed, when he was at home, to appear in the pulpit, Melville was often prevailed on, at his request, to occupy his place. On the death of Hamilton, the kirk-session petitioned for his services regularly, and during the vacancy of the parish, the public duties of the Sabbath were divided

between him and his nephew, James Melville\*. He was extremely anxious that they should fix on a person properly qualified for discharging the pastoral duties among them, and one who might be useful in that station to the university. His exertions in forwarding this object were not spontaneous on his part, but made at the express appointment of the General Assembly and at the particular request of the kirk-session of St. Andrews†. The individual first chosen was the celebrated Robert Pont. He had held the office of a ruling elder in that city for some time after the Reformation, but was at present minister of St. Cuthbert's church, and provost of Trinity College, Edinburgh‡. In compliance with the invitation now given him, Pont came to St. Andrews, and officiated as minister to the

\* Melville's Diary, p. 66.

† Register of Kirk-session of St. Andrews, Dec. 6. and 20, 1581, and May 9, 1582. Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 134, a.

‡ Pont was a native of Culross, (Dav. Buchanan, M.S. De Script. Scot.) and was incorporated into St. Leonard's College in the year 1554, (Reg. Univ.) "Mr. Robert Pont" signs, among the elders, a deed of the session, March 20, 1560, and another May 14, 1561. (Record of Kirk-session of St. Andrews.) I understand him to be the person called "Mr. Robert Kynpont," who was one of the commissioners from St. Andrews to the General Assembly 1560, and whom the Assembly declared qualified "for ministring and teaching." (Keith, Hist. 498.) "Maister Robert Pontt commissioner of the superintendencie of Murray," was presented "to the personage and vicarage of the parish kirk of Birnie, in the diocle of Murray," Jan. 13, 1567, (Reg. of Present. to Benefices, vol. i. f. 2.) He was presented to "the vicarage of St. Cuthbert's kirk, vaicand be the decesse of W<sup>m</sup> Hairlaw," Dec. 29, 1578, (Reg. of Privy Seal, vol. xlv. f. 97.) He was made provost of Trinity College, Jan. 27, 1571, and resigned that place, June 23, 1585, (Reg. of Present. vols. i. and ii.)

congregation for nearly twelve months, but being unable to procure a stipend, left it with the consent of the General Assembly \*. This occurrence, with the causes in which it originated, was the occasion of much uneasiness to Melville. The late minister of the town had, during the latter part of his life, grown remiss in the discharge of his pastoral functions, and allowed the ecclesiastical discipline to fall in a great measure into disuse. The consequence was, that many of the principal inhabitants had no desire to obtain an active and conscientious minister, and would have been much better pleased with a person of mean gifts, provided only he would allow them to live at peace, as they termed it, and not disturb them with reproofs from the pulpit, or with sessional prosecutions. The prior and pensioners of the abbey, availing themselves of this feeling, threw obstacles in the way of the settlement of a regular pastor, and, with the connivance of the magistrates of the city, retained the funds destined for his support in their own hands. Finding that their services were made an excuse for delaying the settlement, Melville and his nephew resolved to discontinue them. On being informed of this, the presbytery issued orders for the speedy filling up of the vacant charge. This injunction, with the reprimand with which it was accompanied, gave great offence; and two of the bailies caused the precentor to read to the congregation a paper, drawn up in

\* Buik of the Univ. Kirk, f. 134, a.

the name of the prior, and containing the most disrespectful reflections on the presbytery; for which they were brought before the General Assembly and enjoined to make public satisfaction\*. Smeton and Arbuthnot, the Principals of the Universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen, were afterwards successively chosen ministers of St. Andrews; and so sensible were the General Assembly of the importance of having that town provided with an able and zealous pastor, that they agreed to their translation. But the King, influenced, as was supposed, by the prior, prohibited it in both instances, on the ground of its being injurious to the universities†. By these means, that extensive parish was kept vacant during upwards of three years‡.

The services which Melville had performed gratuitously, though acceptable to the body of the people, exposed him to ill-will and abuse on the part of not a few. As long as he continued to preach, it was impossible for him to refrain from condemning the conduct of those who obstructed the settlement of the parish. The umbrage taken at this was increased by the plainness with which he rebuked the more flagrant vices which prevailed among the inhabitants and were overlooked by those in authority. Galled by his reproofs, the provost one day rose from his seat in the middle of the sermon, and left the church, muttering his dissatisfaction with

\* Buik of Univ. Kirk, ff. 132, b. 134, a.

† See Note W.

‡ Records of Kirk-session of St. Andrews.

the preacher. Placards were affixed to the gate of the new college, threatening to set fire to the Principal's lodging, to bastinado him, and to chase him out of the town. His friends became alarmed for his safety, but he remained unintimidated, and refused to give place to the violence of his adversaries. He summoned the provost before the presbytery for contempt of divine ordinances. He persevered in his public censures of vice. One of the placards was known, by the French and Italian phrases in it, to be the production of James Learmont younger of Balcomy. This Melville produced to the congregation, at the end of a sermon in which he had been uncommonly free and vehement, and described the author of it, who was sitting before him, as "a Frenchified, Italianized, jolly gentleman, who had polluted many marriage-beds, and now boasted that he would pollute the church of God by bastinading his servants." He silenced his adversaries at this time, but they soon found an opportunity of revenging themselves for the freedoms which he had taken with them\*.

During these transactions several distinguished men were removed by death. In the year 1592, John Winram, sub-prior of the abbey of St. Andrews, and superintendent of Fife, died at an advanced age†. Though inclined to the reformed

\* Melville's Diary, p. 93.

† John Johnston, in his verses to the memory of Winram, says, that he died on the 28th September, 1581, (*Life of John Knox*, p. 443.) But the true date appears from a decret of the Lords of Ses-

sentiments at an early period, he retained his situation in the popish church until its overthrow. His timidity and temporizing conduct were often blamed by the Protestants, and afforded a topic of invective against him to the Roman Catholics, when he at last deserted their communion. He appears to have been a man of mild dispositions, considerable learning, and great influence\*.

In the same year, the country was deprived of its greatest literary ornament by the death of Buchanan. The splendour of his talents is universally acknowledged, and his political sentiments and moral character have found able advocates. But he

sion against the tenants of Portmoak, Nov. 24, 1582,—“The Priory of St. Servan be within the Loch of Levin, otherwise called Portmoak—vacand be demission of the same be umquill Mr. John Wynram, last Prior—and albeit it be of veritie that the said Mr. John departit this mortal life upon the xviii of Sept<sup>r</sup> last,” &c. The Priory of Portmoak having been resigned by him, was given to the College of St. Leonard's in 1580, (Register of Presentations to Benefices, vol. ii. f. 37.)

\* Life of John Knox, i. 31; ii. 443. Nicol Burne's Disputation: *Admonition to the Ministers*.—In the Records of the University of St. Andrews Winram is designed “*Sacrarum literarum professor eximius*.” I was formerly disposed to suspect, that the Catechism which Bale ascribes to Winram, under the name of *Wouram* or *Wyrem*, was the same with Archbishop Hamilton's, (Life of Knox, i. 411.) But in a list of books belonging to the University of St. Andrews, taken in the year 1599, I have since found the two following separate entries:

“Catechismus D. J. Winram Supprior.

Catechismus Jo. Hamilton Epi.”

The superintendent was of the family of Rathow, and married Margaret Stewart, Lady Kinawdy, (relict of ——— Ayton of Kinawdy) who died March, 1573, (Act Buik of the Commissariot of St. Andrews; May 1, and Oct. 18, 1574.)

deserves also to live in the memory of his countrymen as a sincere and zealous friend to the principles of the Reformation. He had not concealed his partiality to this cause when he was abroad \*, and after his return to his native country he gave it his uniform and most decided support †. The sincerity of his religious profession was proved by the consistency with which it was maintained, and by the correctness of his moral conduct. In courts and in the palaces of the great, he preserved that independence of mind and simplicity of manners which shewed him to be a philosopher as well as a scholar. Tyranny, in all the forms which it assumed and with all the vices of which it was the offspring or the parent, uniformly found in him a determined and powerful foe. Like most men of genius, he possessed a lively vein of wit, exerting itself sometimes in the keenest satire, but more frequently in the sallies of sportive humour and good-natured raillery, which he delighted to indulge in with his friends even to

\* Langueti Epistolæ, lib. ii. ep. 37.

† Dr. Irving says, "The extravagances of John Knox have received no splendid encomiums from the historical pen of Buchanan. He was too enlightened to applaud the fierce spirit of intoleration in men who had themselves tasted the bitterness of persecution," (*Memoirs of Buchanan*, p. 316, second edit.) The Doctor appears to have overlooked the fact, that some of the strongest measures to which he affixes the character of "intoleration," were approved by an Assembly of which Buchanan was not only a member, but also the *moderator*. Buchanan's usual way is to pronounce his encomiums on individuals when he records their death, and his history does not reach the death of Knox.

the latest period of his life \*. Melville appears to have enjoyed a large share of his confidence; and the last interview between them presents us with some of the most interesting traits in the character of one of the most original writers that Scotland has produced †.

\* Perhaps the most genuine specimen which has been preserved of Buchanan's humour, is to be found in an original letter from him to Sir Thomas Randolph, published in the Appendix.

† "That September, in tyme of vacans, my vncle Mr. Andro, Mr. Thomas Buchanan, and I, heiring y<sup>t</sup> Mr. George Buchana was weak and his historie under the press, past ower to Edin<sup>t</sup>. annes earend to visit him and sie the wark. When we cam to his chalmer we fand him sitting in his chaire testching his young man y<sup>t</sup> servit him in his chalmer to spell a, b, ab; c, b, eb, &c. Efter salutation Mr. Andro sayes, I sie, air, yie ar no<sup>t</sup> ydle. better this quoth he nor steiling sheipe, or sitting ydle quhilk is als ill. y<sup>e</sup>fter he shew ws the epis-tle dedicatorie to the king; the quhilk when Mr. Andro had read, he tauld him y<sup>t</sup> it was obscure in sum places and wanted certean words to perfyt the sentence. Sayes he, I may do na mair for thinking on another mater. What is that, sayes Mr. Andro. To die quoth he; bot I leave y<sup>t</sup> and manis ma things to you to helpe. He was telling him also of Blakwoods answer to his buik de iure regni. We went from him to the printers wark hous, whom we fand at the end of the 17 buik of his Chronicle, at a place quhilk we thought very hard for the tyme, quhilk might be an occasion of steying the haill work, anent the burial of Davie. Therfor steying the printer from proceiding we cam to Mr. George again and fand him bedfast by [contrary to] his custome, and asking him whow he did. Even going the way of wellfare sayes he. Mr. Thomas his cusing schawes him of the hardnes of that part of his storie, y<sup>t</sup> the king wald be offendit w<sup>t</sup> it and it might stey all the wark. tell me man sayes he giff I have tauld the treuthe. yis sayes Mr. Thomas air I think sa. I will byd his fead and all his kin's then q<sup>u</sup>he; pray, pray to God for me and let him direct all. Sa be the printing of his Cronicle was endit y<sup>t</sup> maist lerned wyse and godlie man endit this mortal lyff." (Melville's Diary, p. 90.)



In October 1583, Alexander Arbuthnot, Principal of the University of Aberdeen, departed this life \*. He was followed, in the course of two months, by Thomas Smeton, Principal of the University of Glasgow †. I shall afterwards have occasion to speak of both in reviewing the literature of the period. Melville deplored their premature death in strains honourable to him as a friend and a patriot ‡. The removal of two men so much revered, and occupying such important stations, was universally bewailed as an irreparable loss, and, occurring at a critical period, was looked on as a prognostication of approaching calamities.

Notwithstanding what his Majesty thought pre-

\* He died, unmarried, on the 16th of October, 1583, in the 48th year of his age. (Cald. iii. 282. Spotswood, 335. Kennedy's Annals of Aberdeen, ii. 372, 373.) On the 15th of July, 1568, he received a presentation to "the personage and vicarage of logy callit logy-buchane—ane of the comonn kirks of the cathedral kirk of Aberdeen." His presentation to the office of Principal of the King's College, is dated July 3, 1569. (Reg. of Present. to Benefices, vol. i. ff. 14. 28.) On the 25th July, 1569, he was presented to "the personage and vicarage of Arbuthnot callit ane prebendarie of the kirk of hench of sanctandrois &c Provyding he—administrat the sacramentis of Jesus Chryst. Or ellis travell in sum vther als necessar vocatoun to the utilitie of the kirk and approvit be the samyn," &c. (Ib. f. 27.) Dec. 3, 1583, Mr. Robt Arbuthnett was presented to "the personage, &c. of Arbuthnet,—vaikand be decsis of vmqll Mr Alexr Arbuthnett" (Ib. vol. ii. f. 93.)

† He died on the 13th of December, 1583, in the 47th year of his age. (Cald. iii. 299. Spotswood, 336.) Smeton was married, (Melville's Diary, 83,) and Thomas Smeton, made A. M. at Glasgow in 1604, was probably his son.

‡ Delitiae Poet. Scot. ii. 120, 121.

per to profess to the commissioners of the church and to foreign ambassadors, it soon appeared that he cherished a rooted aversion to the Ruthven Lords. In the end of June 1583, he suddenly withdrew from them, and having shut himself up in the castle of St. Andrews, issued a proclamation condemning the enterprise of Ruthven, and declaring that, since that period, he had been kept in a state of restraint and captivity. At first he promised to pardon the offence which he had received, and to govern by the common advice of his nobility. But the mask of moderation was soon thrown off. Arran was again received at court, recovered his former influence, and renewed his tyrannical career with a fury increased by the recollection of his recent disgrace. This change portended a storm to the church, and it was not long before it burst on the heads of her principal ministers.

In the mean time, all those who were concerned in seizing the King's person at Ruthven were declared traitors, and having refused to deliver themselves up, were ordered to be pursued as fugitives from justice. After making some shew of an intention to assemble in their own defence, the greater part escaped into England ; but the Earl of Gowrie lingering imprudently in Dundee, fell into the toils of Arran, and was tried and beheaded. The cautious manner in which the ministers of the church had approved of the former conduct of these noblemen, and their peaceable conduct on the pre-

sent occasion, prevented the court from taking any hasty measures against them as a body \*. But Arran placed spies about the principal persons among them, with instructions to inform him if they uttered any thing from the pulpit derogatory to his proceedings †.

Soon after the King had come to St. Andrews, and before Arran was re-admitted to his presence, Melville received a visit from Sir Robert Melville, one of the new courtiers. Sir Robert informed him that some of his ill-wishers had been busy in prepossessing the royal mind against him, and advised him as a kinsman, to embrace the first opportunity of waiting on his Majesty and clearing himself from

\* The approbation which the General Assembly gave to the Raid of Ruthven, or rather to what was done in consequence of it, was very guarded. They consulted with his majesty before they took that step, and it required all James's king-craft to gloss over this fact, when it was afterwards appealed to by the English ambassador. (Buik of Univ. Kirk, ff. 128, b. 129. Cald. iii. 261.)

In a petition presented by that Assembly are the following articles: "That his Maitie and Lords will wey quhat great inconvenients and absurdities falls furth vpon the act of counsell made concerning absolute power, and for removing y<sup>e</sup>of to delate ye same nevir to be rememberit heirafter."—"That it will please your Ma. and Lo. to have pitie and compassion on y<sup>e</sup> noble and godly man, James Hamilton, Erle of Arran, sometyme a noble and comfortable instrument in reforming ye kirk of God, and now visit be ye hand of God, and under pretense of law bereft." (Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 131, b.) The Earl had laboured under mental derangement for many years. Captain Stewart was appointed tutor to him, and afterwards obtained his title and estates. It is much to the honour of the Assembly that they had presented a similar petition in behalf of that unfortunate nobleman during the administration of Lennox. (Ibid. f. 98.)

† Wodrow's Life of Galloway, p. 6. MSS. vol. ii.

calumny. Melville thanked his friend for this mark of kindness, but excused himself from complying with his advice. If his Majesty wished his opinion on any thing relating to the church or commonwealth, or if he required his attendance to explain or answer for any part of his conduct, he was ready, he said, to obey the royal commands with all humility and reverence. But he was certain that no man could justly charge him with having failed in the duty of a subject; and he would not take a step which implied a consciousness of guilt, and would make him an indirect accuser of himself to his sovereign\*.

On Saturday the 15th of February, 1584, Melville received a charge to appear before the Privy Council at Edinburgh on the Monday following, to answer for seditious and treasonable speeches uttered by him in his sermon and prayers on a fast which had been kept during the preceding month. Conscious of his innocence, he felt no hesitation on his own account in resolving at once to appear. His only concern was to know how he should conduct himself, so as not to prejudge the rights of the church and the liberty of the pulpit, which the court sought to infringe by its present mode of procedure. On this important point he had little time to deliberate, or to take the advice of his brethren. The University gave him an ample attestation, in which

\* Melville's Diary, p. 10.

they declared their conviction that the accusation was false and calumnious ; that they had been constant attendants on his public teaching, and had never heard any thing proceed from his mouth that was derogatory to his majesty's government ; and that, whenever he had occasion to touch on that subject, in doctrine, in application, or in prayers, he had always spoken reverently of his majesty, and exhorted his hearers to yield obedience to him and to the meanest magistrate who possessed authority under him \*. Similar testimonials were given him by the town-council, the kirk-session, and the presbytery of St. Andrews.

When he appeared before the Privy Council, he, with the utmost readiness, gave an account of the sermon on which he was accused, for the satisfaction of his Majesty and his counsellors. He had preached, he said, on the words with which Daniel reminded Belshazzar of the history of his father Nebuchadnezzar ; and he deduced from them this general doctrine, " That it is the duty of ministers to apply examples of divine mercy and judgment in all ages, to kings, princes, and people ; and that the nearer the persons are to us the more applicable is the example." On that part of his subject he had said, " But if, now a dayes, a minister should rehearse the example that fell out in king James the third's dayes, who was abused by the flattery of his

\* See Note X.

courtiers, he would be said to vaige † from his text, and perchance be accused of treason." He denied that he had said, as he was accused, "that our Nebuchadnezzar, (meaning the king's mother,) was twice seven years banished, and would be restored again;" and affirmed that such a thought never came into his mind. He solemnly protested that neither in that sermon, nor in any other, had he used the words falsely imputed to him, "The king is unlawfully promoted to the crown," nor any expression capable of being interpreted as conveying such a sentiment. Indeed, it was notorious, that the lawfulness of his Majesty's authority had all along been strenuously maintained by the church; and he could appeal to all who had heard him or with whom he had ever conversed, if he had not exerted himself to establish it in all his discourses and reasonings, both publicly and privately. What he had laid down, as founded upon his text, was, that whether kings are raised to their thrones by election, by succession, or by any other ordinary means, they owe their exaltation to God; and that, from the infirmity of human nature, they are extremely apt to forget this truth. Having confirmed the last part of this remark by a reference to the history of the good kings mentioned in Scripture, instead of making any application of it to the present time, he offered up a prayer, (as he was accustomed to do whenever he spoke of his Majesty) beseeching God of his grace

\* wander.

not to suffer our king to forget the divine goodness displayed in raising him extraordinarily to the throne of this country, when he was a child in the cradle, his mother yet alive, and a great part of the nobility his enemies, and in preserving him since the burden of government was laid on his own shoulders. Melville concluded his statement by assuring the council that he had given, as nearly as he could recollect, the very words which he had spoken from the pulpit, and by entreating his Majesty and their lordships not to listen to the misinformations of those who wrested his words from malice, or who were so grossly ignorant as not to be able to distinguish between an *extraordinary* and an *unlawful* calling. He at the same time produced the public attestations of his innocence which he had brought along with him.

• Instead of resting satisfied with the explanation and testimonials, the council resolved to proceed with the trial, upon which he stated the following objections, in the form of requests. He requested, first, that as he was accused upon certain expressions alleged to have been used by him in preaching and prayer, his trial should be remitted, in the first instance, to the ecclesiastical courts, as the ordinary judges of his ministerial conduct, according to Scripture, the laws of the kingdom, and an agreement lately made between certain commissioners of the Privy Council and of the Church. Secondly, that he should be tried at St. Andrews, where the alleged offence was committed. Thirdly, that if his first request

was not granted, he should at least enjoy the privilege of the university of which he was a member, by having his cause submitted, in the first instance, to the judgment of the Rector and his assessors. Fourthly, that he should enjoy the benefit of the apostolical canon, "Against an elder receive not an accusation but before two or three witnesses." Fifthly, that he should have the benefit of a free subject by being made acquainted with his accuser, and that the individual who appeared in that character should, if the charge turned out to be false and calumnious, be liable to the punishment prescribed by the statutes against those who seek to alienate the king from his faithful subjects. In fine, he protested that if *William Stewart*\* was the informer, he had just ground to except against him, both as an accuser and as a witness, inasmuch as he entertained a deadly malice against him, and had frequently threatened to do him bodily harm if it was in his power. When he had stated these objections, the council adjourned the farther consideration of the cause to the following day.

In the interval, Melville, after consulting with his brethren, drew up in the form of a protest the objections which he had stated verbally to the council. Next day commissioners from the presbytery and from the university of St. Andrews at-

\* Stewart was one of the pensioners of the Abbey of St. Andrews, and had conceived hatred against Melville on account of his activity in procuring a minister for that town. (p. 188.) His conduct on the present occasion procured him the common name of *the Accuser*.



tended ; the former to protest for the liberty of the church, and the latter to re-pledge Melville to the court of the rector. But they were refused admission ; and Melville, finding that the Council were determined to proceed with the trial, gave in his protest \*. The reading of this paper, though couched in the most temperate and respectful language, threw the King and Arran into so violent a rage, that their threatenings disturbed the Privy Council, and spread an alarm among those who were without, and anxiously waited the issue of the trial. Their violence roused Melville's spirit. He resolutely defended the step which he had taken, and told the counsellors, that as there was a constituted church in the country, they shewed themselves too bold in passing by its teachers, and assuming a right to pronounce sentence on the doctrine and control the administrations of the servants of a king and council greater than themselves : " And that ye may see your rashness in taking upon you what ye neither can nor ought to do (unclasping his Hebrew Bible from his girdle, and throwing it on the table, he said,) *These* are my instructions : see if any of you can judge of them, or show that I have passed my injunctions." Arran took up the book, and perceiving it to be written in a strange language, handed it to the king, saying, " Sir, he scorns your Majesty and the Council."—" No, my lords ;

\* This protest, or declinature, as it is usually called, may be seen at large in the printed Calderwood, pp. 144—146. Comp. Hume of Godscroft, Hist. of the House of Douglas and Angus, ii. 309—313.

(replied Melville,) I scorn not ; but with all earnestness and gravity, I stand for the cause of Jesus Christ and his church." He was several times removed, but not allowed to have any intercourse with his brethren. Entreaties and menaces were alternately used to induce him to withdraw his protest, but this he refused unless his cause were remitted to the proper judges. At last Stewart was brought forward as accuser, and the deposition of a number of witnesses taken. But although most of them were his known enemies, nothing could be extracted from their evidence that tended in the slightest degree to criminate him. Notwithstanding this, he was found guilty of declining the judgment of the Council and behaving irreverently before them ; and was condemned to be imprisoned in the Castle of Edinburgh, and to be further punished in his person and goods at his Majesty's pleasure \*.

His friends were greatly perplexed as to the course which they should now advise him to take. On the one hand, they were averse to deprive the church and university of his services, by advising him to leave the kingdom, and they were not without hopes that they would be able to procure his liberation after a short imprisonment. On the other hand, a temporary intermission of his labours was not to be put in balance with the risk of his life ; and the fury with which Arran conducted himself justified the strongest apprehensions. It was judged proper

\* See Note Y.

that he should keep himself concealed in the capital, while his nephew sounded the courtiers and tried to ascertain the treatment which he was likely to receive. From some of them, James Melville received favourable assurances, but those on whom he could place more dependence repeated the proverb of the house of Angus, "*loose and living*," and signified, that if his uncle surrendered his liberty he would come out of prison to the scaffold. This was corroborated by information that the place of his confinement was changed from the Castle of Edinburgh to that of Blackness, a solitary and unwholesome dungeon kept by a creature of Arran's \*. As soon as he heard this circumstance, Melville decided upon the course which he would take, but without imparting his resolution to his brethren. He came from his concealment, and made as if he intended to obey the sentence of the Privy Council. He dined in Lawson's house with the ministers who were in town, and was the most cheerful person in the company; mingling more than his usual portion of hilarity with the graver conversation of the table, drinking the health of his captain, as he called the keeper of Blackness, and desiring his brethren to prepare to follow him. The macer being announced, he requested that he should be brought in; and received with all respect the charge to enter himself

\* John Davidson, in his answer to Allain, says that several of the lords, when requested to subscribe the sentence as altered by Arran, refused, and said, that, to please his majesty, they had already yielded too far in agreeing to it in its original form. (Cald. ii. 348.)

a prisoner within ten hours. A little after this he left the company, and being joined by his brother Roger, retired from Edinburgh, passed the night in the neighbourhood, and next day reached Berwick in safety; to the mortification of Arran, who had a company of horsemen prepared to conduct him to Blackness\*.

The court incurred great odium by its severe treatment of Melville. The ministers of Edinburgh prayed for him in public, and the universal lament was, that the king, under the influence of evil counsel, had driven into exile the most learned man in the kingdom, and the ablest champion of religion and the liberties of the church. To counteract this impression the Privy Council issued a proclamation, declaring that his exile was voluntary, and disclaiming any intention of using him rigorously†. Little credit was given to this representation, which was contradicted by an act of council made upon Melville's flight, and ordaining that such preachers as were accused should henceforth be apprehended without the formality of a legal charge‡.

Had the affair which we have now related been a detached and isolated occurrence, it might have

\* *Cald.* iii. 304—314. *Melville's Diary*, pp. 102—104. *Spotawood*, 330. *Hume*, *Hist. of the House of Douglas and Angus*, ii. 308.—*Hume* says that Melville published his Apology, or the Declinature which he had given in to the Privy Council.

† A Declaration to sum reportis maid anent Mr Andro Meluile. *Record of Privy Council*, ult. Febr. 1583.

‡ *Galloway's Apology for his Flight*, in *Wodrow's Life of Mr. Patrick Galloway*, p. 6. MSS. in *Bibl. Coll. Glas.* vol. ii.

been passed over without inquiring narrowly, whether the issue to which it was brought was more owing to the imprudence of the person accused, or to the violent and arbitrary procedure of his judges. But, it is only one of many cases which occurred, and involves the great question which was so keenly agitated between the court and the church during the whole of this reign. On this account, and to prevent future repetition, I shall here make a few observations on a subject which has been much misunderstood and misrepresented.

It is needless to contend about words. I shall therefore allow that the instrument which Melville gave in to the Privy Council on his trial was a material *declinature*; although he did not make use of that term, and, it is probable, avoided it intentionally, that he might not give unnecessary umbrage, or afford a handle to those who sought advantage against him and the cause which he maintained. But it would argue a very slender degree of acquaintance with the subject to infer from this circumstance, that he disowned the authority or called in question the jurisdiction of the king and his council. The most that it could imply was, that the Privy Council was not the proper court for trying the accusation brought against him; and we shall afterwards shew that it did not imply so much. Every lawful judicature is not entitled to judge in every cause, and a party has a right to take legal steps for having his cause brought before the competent judges. Even in that age, when the boundaries

of the different jurisdictions were far from being accurately traced, it was not uncommon for persons to decline the judgment of the Privy Council, and to bring their cause before the Lords of Session \*. They were not on that account thought to be guilty of treason, nor charged with impeaching the royal authority; and the assemblies of the church were judicatories acknowledged by law as much as any civil or criminal court in the country.

It is equally unreasonable to identify the plea advanced by Melville with the claim which the popish clergy made to immunity from the civil jurisdiction †. Not to mention that, in the latter case, the ultimate decision might be given by a foreign power in consequence of a reference or appeal to the court of Rome, the popish clergy claimed, and actually obtained, an exemption from civil jurisdiction as to all crimes, of whatever kind they might be, and on whatever occasion they might be committed—murders, adulteries, thefts, secret conspiracies, and open appearances in arms against the state.

\* "T. Esteem ye that light for a subject to decline his prince's judgment? Z. Is that any new thing? Falls not that forth allmost every day before the Secret Counsel? Declined not Mr John Cra-mound, within 20 days after Mr Andrew's dyet, the King and Counsel as judges competent for the exhibition of the heretrix of Badra-ville, and he was never quarraled as a declynor of the Kings M. au-therity. This is a form common enough before any judges." Dialogue between Zelator, Temporizor, and Palemon. (Cald. iii. 678.)

† This has been done, in very unqualified terms, by Dr. Robertson. (Hist. of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 425. Lond. 1809.)

The plea of the Presbyterian ministers was limited entirely to the exercise of their pastoral functions. To represent these claims as the same, is as absurd as it would be to confound the protection granted to worshipping assemblies by every civilized nation, with that privilege which formerly rendered religious houses and their consecrated appendages so many sanctuaries for all kinds of malefactors. Nor did Presbyterians plead that the ecclesiastical courts were the *sole* judges of doctrine delivered from the pulpit, or that it belonged to them to judge of treason\*. If they had done so, and if they had at the same time contended that the mere acquittal of a preacher by the church courts barred the civil magistrate from proceeding against him for the crime of sedition or treason, then I acknowledge that the charge brought against them would to a certain extent be well founded, and that their claims deserved to have been resisted and reprobated. But such was not the nature of their plea. All that they insisted for was, that when a minister was accused of having exceeded the proper bounds of his office, and of having taught from the pulpit what tended to:

\* Dr. Robertson represents Melville as contending that "the Presbytery of which he was a member had the *sole right* to call him to account for words spoken in the pulpit;" and yet he allows, in the same sentence, that his plea amounted only to this, that "neither the King nor council could judge, *in the first instance*, of the doctrine delivered by preachers." If this plea had been admitted, he says, "the Protestant clergy would have become independent on the civil magistrate," and might have taught, "*without fear or control*, the most dangerous principles," &c. (History, ut supra.)

the hurt of the state or the dishonour of magistrates, instead of being immediately dragged before a civil tribunal, the accusation against him should be brought, *in the first instance*, before those courts which had the direct oversight of his pastoral conduct. If they should find the accusation well founded, it was incumbent on them to censure him for a violation of his ministerial duty, and to leave him to the judgment of the proper court for the civil offence of which he had been guilty. Or if they, through the influence of undue partiality, should justify him erroneously, it was still competent for the civil magistrate to proceed against him in the exercise of that authority which the antecedent judgment of the church could neither supersede nor invalidate\*.

Such was the full amount of the claim made by the church at this time, and if candidly examined it will be found neither so extravagant nor so unreasonable as has been alleged. When accused of uttering seditious or treasonable language from the pulpit, a preacher was charged with a double offence, which rendered him amenable to a double jurisdiction. He was amenable to the church for the transgression of his official duty, and to the state for viola-

\* "The question was not," says Principal Baillie, "Whether ministers be exempt from the magistrates' jurisdiction, nor, Whether the pulpit puts men in a liberty to teach treason without any civil cognizance and punishment. Since the Reformation of religion no man in Scotland did ever assert such things. But the question was, as Spotswood himself states it, Whether the Counsell was a competent judge to Master Melville's doctrine in *prima instantia*: these were the expresse termes." (Answer to the Declaration, p. 12, subjoined to Historical Vindication, Lond. 1646.)



ting his duty as a subject. The only question was as to the order in which the cause should come to be tried, and the tribunal before which he should be primarily called to appear. *Some* arrangement behoved to be made as to this; and where there was a constituted church, whose judicatories were recognized by the state, it seems, on several grounds, the most proper and expedient course that the individual accused should in the first instance be made accountable to them. Though a subject, it was when acting in the character of a public minister of the church that he incurred the charge brought against him. And he could not offend against the state, or against any individual, without first transgressing his duty as a preacher of the Gospel. By this arrangement, the state might have been saved from much disagreeable and unnecessary business, either in the way of its appearing, from the investigation before the ecclesiastical courts, that the charge was completely groundless; or, if it turned out otherwise, in the way of their sentence leading to what might be justly regarded as a sufficient reparation of the offence and a prevention of its recurrence; in both which cases, the necessity of a legal prosecution would have been happily superseded. This arrangement would also have had the effect of preventing ministers from being harassed by espionage on the part of the government, or by the malicious informations of individuals offended at their faithfulness in the reproof of sin or in the exercise of discipline. All these objects would have been gained, while at the same time the civil courts re-

tained their authority entire and unimpaired. I need scarcely add, that the regulation in question was never intended to apply to extraordinary cases; and that no such immunity was pleaded as would have prevented the executive government from immediate procedure against any one who should be notoriously guilty of exciting sedition or treason by his preaching, or who should even be suspected of this in a time of public commotion or national alarm.

It may be alleged, that this arrangement would have produced collision between the two authorities. But how could this have been prevented altogether, in the supposed case, without abolishing the jurisdiction and discipline of the church? If it should be said, that the previous judgment of the ecclesiastical court would have imposed a certain kind of restraint on the proceedings of the civil, I grant that it would indirectly. But then I maintain that this would have proved upon the whole a salutary check, and that its tendency would have been to discourage the court from indulging in arbitrary and vindictive prosecutions. What is it but the restraint of opinion on coercive authority—the great safeguard of the weak against the oppressions of the powerful? It is proper to guard against the license of the pulpit; but it is equally proper to provide against encroachments on its due liberty. This is an object of great importance, whether it be viewed in relation to the nature and immediate ends of the pastoral office; or to the indirect influence which it is calculated to have upon public opinion and the na-

tional weal. Those who speak in Heaven's name to men, and whose duty it is to declare the whole counsel of God—to inculcate the observance of the divine law in all its extent—to reprove irreligion and vice, injustice and oppression, wherever they appear and by whomsoever committed—to warn of approaching judgments and impending dangers—to call all to repentance and reformation of life—and to watch for souls as those who must give an account—are entitled to use, and ought to be protected in using, a more than ordinary liberty of speech. If they are fettered by injunctions, and awed by prosecutions and penalties—if they dare select no subject, advance no sentiment, employ no expression, but what is agreeable to men in power, and smoothed down so as not to grate the delicate ears of courtiers—if they are prohibited from applying the examples of Scripture, and improving the events of Providence, to the instruction and admonition of their hearers—and, in fine, if they are not allowed to exhort, reprove, rebuke, with all authority, they cease to be the servants of Christ, and become faithless and unprofitable to the people of their charge. Is not this to chain them up like the animal employed to keep sentry when the family are asleep, which alarms passengers by its noise, licks the hand that feeds it, and is let loose at its master's pleasure? Who would undertake such a degrading office, but hirelings, parasites, or dastardly, grovelling, and slavish souls? Nor is the conservation of this privilege (and why should not the pulpit have its privileges as well as the senate, the

bench, the bar, or the academical chair?) of less importance in a national and political point of view. The beneficial influence which religion exerts over the minds of an intelligent people, politically considered, depends in a high degree on the proof which its teachers give of their honesty and independence. This is the savour of their salt, without which they are good for nothing, and soon become worse than nothing, corrupting and being corrupted. Despotism has rarely been established in any nation without the subserviency of the ministers of religion. And it nearly concerns the cause of public liberty, that those who ought to be the common instructors and the faithful and fearless monitors of all classes, should not be converted into the trained sycophants of a corrupt or the trembling slaves of a tyrannical administration.

At the period of which we speak, the pulpit was, in fact, the only organ by which public opinion was or could be expressed; and the ecclesiastical courts were the only assemblies in the nation which possessed any thing that was entitled to the name of liberty or independence. Parliament had its business prepared to its hand, and laid before it in the shape of acts which required only its assent. Discussion and freedom of speech were unknown in its meetings. The courts of justice were dependent on the will of the sovereign, and frequently had their proceedings regulated and their decisions dictated by letters and messages from the throne. It was the preachers who first taught the people to express an

opinion on public affairs and the conduct of their rulers; and the assemblies of the church set the earliest example of a regular and firm opposition to the arbitrary and unconstitutional measures of the court. This is a fact which has been strangely overlooked by most modern writers, who, instead of presenting accurate and liberal views of the state of society at that period, have too often amused their readers by pointing sarcasms, or turning elegant periods, on the arrogant pretensions and dangerous encroachments of a presbyterian hierarchy.

The truth is, that the nation at large was interested in the question respecting the independence of the ecclesiastical courts; and every enlightened friend of justice and freedom at that time must have wished success to the struggle which the preachers were making in defence of their privileges. The powers of the Privy Council of Scotland appear to have been vague and undefined, their mode of procedure summary, and their decisions frequently of the most arbitrary, oppressive, and despotical kind. It would not be a difficult task, in my opinion, to extract from their records a series of proceedings, in which they not only interfered with causes which properly belonged to the civil and criminal courts, but also decided them in a way contrary to the most essential principles of justice and the most explicit statutes of the realm. It will scarcely admit of a doubt, that, in the prosecution of Melville, the court had more in view than checking the liberties used by preachers, or resisting the alleged claim of church-courts to judge in cases of treason. Their grand ob-

ject was to render the authority of the sovereign absolute by bringing every cause before the council-table for decision. A right had already been claimed on behalf of the Privy Council to judge in all causes of a civil nature, and the claim was afterwards confirmed by a slavish parliament \*. But the royal power was regarded as limited and incomplete so long as ecclesiastical causes were exempted from its jurisdiction. The right which the church-courts exercised of appointing their own diets, the freedom of discussion allowed in their meetings, and the jealousy with which they resisted every attempt to encroach on their rights, were disliked by the courtiers as tending to abridge the prerogative of the crown, and dreaded by them as holding out a temptation to the civil courts to lay claim to similar privileges. It was the suppression of these that was aimed at in the present prosecution and in the late affair of Montgomery.

\* In the cause, James Menzies *against* Earl of Athole, before the Privy Council, April 3, 1576, it was pleaded by the defender that, by the institution of the College of Justice, all causes should be tried by them. It was answered by the pursuer, and "by Mr. David Borthwick, advocate to his Matie in his hienes name, that be act maid be King James the Third, it is declared that it shall be lesum to his Matie or his successours to decyde in whatsumever causes at y<sup>r</sup> pleasour notwithstanding any privileged granted to any vther Juges." The lords of secret council found that they were "Juges competent." (Lord Haddington's MS. Collections from Minutes of Secret Council, &c.) The parliament 1584 ordained that the king's majesty, his heirs, &c. shall be "Juges cōpetent to all persons—in all matters quhairin thay or ony of thame salbe apprehendit, summond or chargit to ansuer to sic thingis as salbe inquirit of thame be our said souerane lord and his counsell." (Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 293.)

On his trial, Melville pleaded not only the acts of Parliament and Privy Council ratifying the jurisdiction of the church, but also an agreement which had been entered into with the view of avoiding dissension on this very subject. In consequence of the offence which was taken at the court's having imprisoned Dury for expressions used in the pulpit, a conference was held between commissioners of the Privy Council and certain ministers, who agreed that, in future, if the King was offended at the doctrine of any preacher, he should cause a complaint to be given in against him to the ecclesiastical court, instead of summoning him to appear before the Privy Council\*. Accordingly this was done in the instance of Balcanquhall. Melville had, therefore, reason to complain that this agreement was violated in his case. It is a very insufficient and weak apology for such bad faith, that, in Balcanquhall's process, the General Assembly did not give the King satisfaction, and did "force him to take other courses than he desired to follow†;" as if the agreement

\* "In respect that at the last calling of Jo<sup>n</sup> Durie befor the privie counsell vpon ane compt of certaine words alledgit spokin in his sermon, ordour was takin be certaine comissioners of counsell and brether of the kirk, that in case such accusatiounes afterward could fall out, the kirk should have the judgement yrof: And if the kings Ma. please to send any comissioners at tryall they could see the proceedings of the kirk." (Buik of Universall Kirk, f. 114. b.)

† Spotswood, p. 317, 318. Those who consult the expressions charged on Balcanquhall, as given by the archbishop, will probably be of opinion, that if there was any thing offensive in them it lay in the preacher's playing on words in the pulpit. And surely his majesty, at least, had no right to be offended at a speaker's being acquitted for punning unseasonably.

had been, that the Assembly should have the power to judge of the doctrine of preachers provided they humoured his majesty by always condemning it.

Independently of these considerations, the proceedings against Melville were grossly unjust and illegal. His sentence rested not on the proof of the articles libelled, but entirely on the mode of his defence. Granting that the council had the fullest right to judge in the cause and at first instance, and consequently that his requisition, protest, or declination was invalid and inadmissible, all that remained for the court to do, was to repel his defences, to find itself competent, and to proceed with the trial. He was before them, and the only opposition which he made was by words and written instrument. Of the same complexion, and still worse, was the conduct of the council in introducing, among the grounds of his sentence, his behaviour and the expressions used by him on his defence. Although these had been as offensive and disrespectful as they were alleged to be \*, still it was in the highest degree unjust to convert them into matter of crimination and ground of punishment, in the absence and complete failure of all proof of the charge exhibited against him. Even in the case of those who are charged

\* According to Spotswood's account, "He burst forth in undutiful speeches against the king, saying, *He perverted the laws both of God and man.*" (Hist. p. 330.) But this statement is refuted by the act of Privy Council, which makes no mention of a personal charge against the king, but merely says that he alleged, "that the laws of God and practices observed within this country, were perverted, and not observed in his case." (Record of Privy Council, Feb. 17. 1683.)



with the most flagrant crimes, great liberty is allowed to them, or to their counsel, to avail themselves of every legal plea, and to urge every plausible objection, whether it respects the competency of the judges, the relevancy of the libel, the character of the witnesses, or the mode of conducting the prosecution. And it is only where tyranny and blind passion have usurped the seat of justice, that the strong, and, it may be, intemperate language that has escaped a prisoner in the heat and agitation of his defence, is charged against him or recorded upon his conviction as even an aggravation of his crime. Such procedure, while it demonstrates the iniquity of the judges, affords a strong presumption of the innocence of the accused individual.

Melville's flight to England turned out to be of great advantage to his native country, by enabling him to discover and counteract the insidious schemes of Adamson. During the late changes the archbishop had acted with his usual craftiness and inconstancy. In the affair of Montgomery, he appeared to co-operate with the church, while, in reality, he was secretly encouraging the court to persevere in the support of episcopacy. At the same time that he was giving the strongest assurances of his attachment to the presbyterian discipline, he was, as he afterwards confessed, plotting its overthrow\*.

\* "Efter y<sup>t</sup> generall assemblie in October [1681] Mr Patrik Adamson aggreit to all the pointts of the buik of Polecie and concerning the office of a Bischope, and calling to dinner Mr Andro Meluill my uncle Mr Alex<sup>r</sup> Arbathnot and vthers diuers, he subscryvit y<sup>e</sup>to, quhilk his subscription is yet in my uncles custodie. Item y<sup>t</sup> wintar

The General Assembly appointed the Presbytery of Glasgow to try certain charges brought against him ; but Melville, who was empowered to summon him to appear, excused himself from executing the summons on account of the sickness under which the bishop laboured. No sooner, however, had the King withdrawn from the confederated lords than Adamson left his castle, to which he had confined himself for a whole year, appeared in the pulpit, and although he had himself approved of the enterprize at Ruthven \*, inveighed against the nobility who were concerned in it and such of his brethren as had supported their administration. To avoid the prosecution pending against him he left the kingdom in the end of the year 1583, under the pretext of going to Spa for the recovery of his health. But

he past ower to a convention of the esteates, and efter he fand not surt as he luiked for he drest him to the ministers of Ed<sup>t</sup>, shawing tham how that he cam ower to court w<sup>t</sup> Balanus hart of purpose to curse the kirk and do euill, bot God haid wrought sa w<sup>t</sup> him, y<sup>t</sup> he had turned his hart to the contrare and maid him bathe in reasoning and votting to stand for the kirk, promising to schaw fordar and fordar fruitts of his conversion and guid miening. Wharat Jhone dury was sa reioysit y<sup>t</sup> he treated him in hous and wrot ower at lainthe to me in his fawour. Whervpon I past down to his castell at his hamcoming, and schew him what information concerning him I haid gottin from the breithring of Ed<sup>t</sup>, thanking God y<sup>r</sup>for and offering him in caiss of continuance the right hand of societie, whereat reioysing he tauld me the maiter at lainthe, and namlie concerning the grait motiones and working of the spreit. Weill said I y<sup>t</sup> spreit is an vp-right halie and constant spreit, and will mair and mair kythe in effects ; bot it is a fearfull thing to lie against him."—(Melville's Diary, pp. 89—91. 95.) The papers which Adamson subscribed at this time may be seen in the printed Calderwood, pp. 93—96. Comp. Cald. MS. vol. iii. pp. 360—364.

\* Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 326.

he proceeded no farther than London, and having obtained a public commission, became an active agent for Arran, by endeavouring to prepossess the court of Elizabeth against the Scottish noblemen who had fled into England. He consulted with the archbishop of Canterbury and bishop of London as to the overthrow of presbytery in his native country. He represented the principles and conduct of his brethren in an odious light to the ministers of the French church in London, and wrote letters to the same purpose to the churches of Geneva and Zurich. Melville having obtained intelligence of this lost no time in despatching letters to the foreign churches, in which he conveyed a very different account of the late proceedings in Scotland, and painted Adamson's conduct in no very favourable or flattering colours. As he was well known in the places to which he wrote, his representations were successful in defeating the scheme of the archbishop, who hoped to have drawn from the continental divines such replies as would be helpful to him in the execution of his plans \*. The same success attended the letters which Melville sent from Berwick to the French church at London †. Whatever encouragement Adamson might receive from the bishops in England ‡, his embassy did not succeed at court,

\* *Melvinus Pastoribus Genev. et Tigur.* (Wodrow MSS. in *Bibl. Jurid. Edin.* ccc. 2. 12, vol. xx. no. 17.) Adamson's papers, and a translation of Melville's letter, are preserved in James Melville's *Diary*, pp. 107—118. The answer from Geneva, addressed to the exiled lords, is inserted in *Cald.* iii. 735.

† *Letter to Castol*: Cotton MSS. Calig. C. ix. 59.

‡ Mr. Beale, Clerk of the Queen's Closet, in a letter published by

and his residence at London injured the cause which he was employed to promote. This was owing in no small degree to his private conduct, which was unbecoming the clerical character and disgraceful to the sovereign whom he represented \*.

Upon Adamson's return to Scotland a Parliament was held, by which presbytery was overthrown, and the liberties of the church and nation laid at the feet of the king and of those by whom he was guided. To decline the judgment of his Majesty or of the Privy Council in any matter was declared to be treason. Those were declared guilty of the same crime who should impugn or seek the diminution of the power and authority of any of the three estates of parliament; by which all that the church had

Strype, charges Archbishop Whitgift with speaking in a degrading style of the ministers of Scotland and of other reformed churches, and says that he was suspected of having given his approbation to Adamson's design of overturning the order of the church of Scotland. Whitgift, in an apologetical letter, says, that he had not given his subscription to Adamson's plan, but does not deny having conferred with him on the subject. (*Life of Whitgift*, pp. 149, 150. Append. p. 57.)

\* This statement does not rest on the authority of satirical poems, (See *Dalyell's Scottish Poems of the 16th Century*, p. 309.) nor even of Calderwood, who might be suspected of giving too easy faith to reports unfavourable to the bishop. But it is confirmed by Sir James Melville, who was of the same political party with Adamson, and succeeded him as ambassador at London. "The said Bishop—was disdained in England, and dishonoured his country by borrowing gold and pretious furniture from the Bishop of London and others, which was never restored nor paid for." (*Memoires*, p. 150. folio edit.) Adamson, in a letter to Whitgift, promises to send his Grace "a gal-loway naig," in return for his hospitality; but that the "opportunif commodite" of conveying it ever presented itself, or that the nag ever filled a stall at Lambeth, is more than dubious. (*Harl. MSS.* num. 7004. 2.)

done for a series of years in the abolition of episcopacy was pronounced treasonable. All judgments and jurisdictions, spiritual or temporal, which had hitherto been exercised, but which were not ratified by parliament, were discharged, and the subjects prohibited, under high pains, from convening in any assembly, except the ordinary courts, to treat, consult, or determine on any matter of state, civil or ecclesiastical, without the special commandment and license of his majesty. This act was intended for the suppression of the General Assembly as well as of Presbyteries; or rather, it put the whole government of the church into the hands of the king, without whose express consent no ecclesiastical assembly could be held \*. Accordingly, it was

\* "The vther forme of Jugement quhilk hes Majesty hes discharged, is the generall assemblie of the haill Clergie in the Realme: under pretence quhair of ane number of Ministeris from sundry presbyteries did assemble, with sum gentlemen of the country," &c.—"His Maiestie vpoun necessarie occasions—vpoun humble supplicatioun made vnto his Hienes will not refuse to grant them licence to conuene, to wit, the Bishoppes, Commissioners, and sume of the maist vertuous, learnit & godly of their diocesis," &c. (Declaratioun of the Kings Majesties intentioun and meaning toward the lait Acts of Parliament, pp. 17. 19. Edin. 1585.) Even the meetings of kirk-sessions were considered as discharged by this act. On the 28th May, 1584, a special license was granted by his Majesty, in virtue of his dispensing power, for holding the weekly exercise, and the meetings of kirk-session in Edinburgh, "notwithstanding our late act of parliament or any pains contained therein, *anent the which wee dispense be this presents.*" (Cald. iii. 376.) An intimation of a similar kind was made to the elders of St. Andrews by Adamson. (Record of Kirk Session of St. And. June 17, 1584.) But where the ministers or elders were unconformable to the will of the court, they were prevented from assembling. The kirk-session of Glasgow, which used to meet every week, did not assemble from July 18, 1584, to March 31, 1585. (Wodrow's Life of Mr. David Weems, p. 33. MSS. vol. 3.)

ordained, by another act, that commissions should be given to the bishops, along with such others as might be constituted King's commissioners in ecclesiastical causes, to put order to all ecclesiastical matters in their dioceses. In fine, it was ordained that none should presume, privately or publicly, in sermons, declamations, or familiar conferences, to utter any false, untrue, or slanderous speeches, to the disdain, reproach, and contempt of his majesty, his council, or proceedings, or to the dishonour, hurt or prejudice of his highness, his parents, and progenitors, or to meddle in the affairs of his highness and his estate, present, bygone, or in time coming, under the pains contained in the acts of parliament against the making and telling of lesings, to be executed with all rigour, even upon those who heard such speeches and did not reveal them\*.

These are the *black acts* (as they were called) of

\* Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 293, 296, 303.—As a fit supplement to the last mentioned act, Buchanan's History and Dialogue *De Jure Regni* are condemned. *Tempora mutantur*. Not many years before, a pension of L.20. yearly had been assigned, "for the guid, trew, and thankfull service done to our so. lord be his lout Mr. Johne Geddy, scrutour to Mr. George Buchquhannan, preceptour to his hienes and kepar of his privie seal, in writing of the Chronicles of this realme and vtheris lovable werkis of the said Mr. Georges editioun." May 8, 1677. (Reg. of Privy Seal, vol. xliii. f. 81.)

To be consistent the parliament ought also to have condemned Buchanan's *Baptistes*, or at any rate to have expunged the following sentence in the dedication of it to James: "*Volo etiam hunc libellum apud posteros testem fore, si quid aliquando pravis consultoribus impulsus, vel regni licentia rectam educationem superante, secus committas, non præceptoribus, sed tibi, qui eis recte monentibus non sis obsecutus, id vitio vertendum esse.*"

this servile parliament. Though eversive of all liberty, civil and natural as well as ecclesiastical, not a nobleman, baron, or burgess ventured to open his mouth against them. Some of the ministers having received secret information of what was going on, repaired to the parliament-house with the design of protesting for the rights of the church; but the doors were shut against them. The magistrates of Edinburgh received orders to drag from the pulpit any individual who presumed to censure what the parliament had done. But this did not deter them from exonerating their conscience; and when the acts were proclaimed at the market-cross of Edinburgh, Lawson, Balcanquhall, and Pont, "taking their lives in their hands, went boldly and made public protestation" against them, with all the ceremonies usual on such occasions\*.

Orders were immediately issued to apprehend the protesters, who saved themselves by a timely flight. Upwards of twenty ministers soon after followed their example, and took refuge in England. Arran threatened, with his usual brutal coarseness, "that he would make Lawson's head to leap from his halse†, though it was as big as a hay-stack." David Lindsay, the minister of Leith, was imprisoned in Blackness, and John Howieson in Spey Tower. For praying for his distressed brethren, Nicol Dalgleish, minister of St. Cuthbert's church, was tried

\* Hume of Godscroft's History, ii. 335, 336. Cald. iii. 366. 368. Spots. 333.

† neck.

for his life. The jury acquitted him ; but he was instantly served with a new indictment for holding correspondence with rebels, merely because he had read a letter which one of the ministers of Edinburgh had sent to his wife. Being persuaded to come in the King's will for this fault, sentence of death was passed on him, and, though it was not executed, yet by a refinement in cruelty, the scaffold was erected and kept standing for several weeks before the window of his prison \*. All ministers and masters of colleges and schools were required to subscribe a bond, in which they engaged to obey the late acts of Parliament and to acknowledge the bishops as their ecclesiastical superiors, under the pain of being for ever deprived of their benefices and salaries †. The most of the ministers refused subscription. Having convened the principal recusants, Arran asked them, How they durst be so bold as to find fault with the late acts of Parliament. John Craig told him, that they durst find fault with any thing repugnant to the word of God ; upon which Arran started to his feet, and threatened that he would shave their heads, pair their nails, cut their

\* Nicol Dalgleish had been for many years a Regent in St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews, which he left in the year 1577. (Papers of the University.) He went to France, and remained for some time at Bourges. (Cald. ii. 606.) After his return to Scotland he was nominated by the General Assembly, in 1581, as a fit person for being made Principal of King's College, when it was proposed to remove Arbuthnot to the ministry of New Aberdeen. (Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 102.)

† Act Parl. Scot. iii. 347.



toes, and make them an example to all rebels. Craig having admonished him that persons who were raised as high as he was had been humbled, he replied, "I will make you of a false friar a true prophet;" and falling on his knees, exclaimed, "Now I am humbled." Perceiving that the greater part of the ministers were not to be terrified into compliance, Adamson artfully divided them by introducing into the bond one of those ambiguous and unmeaning clauses which serve only to blind the simple, and to save the consciences of such as are anxious to escape from trouble\*. After having made a manful resistance, Craig suffered himself to be caught in this snare, and drew into it the greater part of his brethren. Even the honest and intrepid Dury is said to have become a subscriber, and thus to have lent his hand to build again the things which he was among the foremost to destroy. And Erskine of Dan, whose character stood so high, and who had formerly made so honourable a stand for the liberties of the church, not only became a conformist himself, but was extremely active in persuading others to conform. So difficult is it for good men to preserve a strict and inflexible integrity in the hour of temptation †! But there is no end to the

\* They promised "to obey,—according to the word of God." James Melville, who wrote a long letter intended to expose the evil of the bond, characterizes this qualifying clause as "*manifestam repugnantiam in adjecto*;" as if one should say, he would obey the Pope and his prelates according to the word of God." (Diary, p. 144.)

† Cald. iii. 529, 641—643. Hume of Godscroft's Hist. p. 337. Wodrow's Life of Mr. James Melville, p. 161, MSS. vol. xii.

impositions of despotical authority, and to the humiliations of those who have once bowed their necks to its yoke. Subscription was not reckoned a sufficient bond of fidelity, and written injunctions were sent to all the conforming ministers, by which they were obliged to frame every sentiment and expression in such a manner as to please the court \*.

The privileges of the universities were violated. At Glasgow, Hay, the Rector, was banished to the north of Scotland; all the Professors were thrown into jail; the students dismissed, and commanded by public proclamation to leave the city; and the college shut up. Nor did the remote situation of the university of Aberdeen save it from similar treatment †.

As soon as he recovered from the depression of mind into which he had sunk upon the flight of his uncle, James Melville returned to St. Andrews, and exerted himself in preserving the college from the ruin with which it was threatened. His first care was to secure his uncle's library, which was in danger of confiscation; after which he endeavoured to supply his place by reading lectures on the system of divinity. In addition to his double task as Professor of Divinity and of Hebrew, he found himself obliged to undertake the management of the revenues of the college and the board of the students; the persons entrusted with these duties having re-

\* Cald. iii. 742, 743.

† Cotton MSS. Calig. C. viii. 78.

fused to act, as soon as they learned that the court looked on the establishment with an evil eye. In these circumstances he was encouraged by the sympathy of the masters of the university, who attended his lectures and did every thing in their power to promote the interests of the New College. On this occasion, too, Thomas Buchanan testified his regard to his exiled friend at the risk of displeasing the court, by coming forward and taking a share of the burden of theological instruction, to which he had formerly been appointed by the General Assembly \*. They were not interrupted until the meeting of Parliament, but no sooner were the laws overthrowing the presbyterian discipline passed, than Adamson came to St. Andrews for the purpose of imposing them on the university. He had procured an order for apprehending James Melville; who being apprized of the fact, escaped, not without great hazard, by crossing the sea in an open boat to Berwick. Robertson was the only professor who remained in the college, and the bishop soon after suppressed the teaching of theology †.

A few days before his nephew arrived at Ber-

\* October 1692. "It is leisum for a minister for a season to superseid y<sup>e</sup> ministrie and vse y<sup>e</sup> office of a doctor. y<sup>e</sup> for y<sup>e</sup> assemblie hes concludit and ordanit Mr. Tho. Bachannan to enter in y<sup>e</sup> new Colledge and vse and exercise y<sup>e</sup> office of a doctour y<sup>e</sup>; for y<sup>e</sup> support of y<sup>e</sup> samein, his kirk [Ceres] being alwayes provydit of a sufficient pastour and y<sup>e</sup> said Mr. Thomas sufficientlie satisfied anent y<sup>e</sup> promise made for expedition of his pleyis." (Buik of Universall Kirk; f. 139; b.)

† Melville's Diary, pp. 105, 118--123. Cahl. iii. 482.

wick, Melville had left it for London, accompanied by his relation and pupil, Patrick Forbes, younger of Corse \*. He had obtained liberty from the English court to repair to the capital, and was furnished with instructions from the exiled noblemen, who still remained at Berwick. Along with James Carmichael, minister of Haddington, who added to his learning a talent for public business, he had several interviews with Walsingham, Bowes, and Sydney, and found these statesmen cordially inclined to befriend them †. But there were counsellors, particularly among the bishops, who were unfriendly to their cause and did every thing in their power to injure it. Adamson conveyed his representations through the Archbishop of Canterbury ‡; and the agents of Arran spared no professions or promises to induce Elizabeth to drive the exiles from her dominions, or at least to refuse a hearing to their complaints. Melville was at this time employed in writing a reply to a vindication of the Scottish court, published under the title of a Declaration of the King's Majesty's intention in the late acts of Parliament. It was artfully drawn up by Archbishop

\* Afterwards bishop of Aberdeen.

† A great number of letters written by Carmichael, Galloway, and Hume of Godscroft, which contain minute information of transactions at this period, are preserved among the Wodrow MSS. in the Advocates' Library. A great part of them is transcribed into the third volume of Calderwood's MS. and Wodrow's Lives of Carmichael and Hume.

‡ Letter from Patrick archb. of St. Andrews to his Grace of Canterbury, June 16, 1684. Harl. MSS. num. 7004. 2.

Adamson, and contained vile and unfounded aspersions on the banished lords and on the proceedings of the church. Melville, of course, came in for a large share of the abuse. This declaration deserves particular notice as the original of those misrepresentations of Scots affairs, which prevailed so long in England and are not completely removed at this day. The answers given to it by Melville and others exposed its falsehoods; but they shared the fate of all fugitive pieces in being soon lost and forgotten\*. The Declaration, on the contrary, was carefully preserved. By means of some of Arran's agents, it was reprinted at London, with a preface more odious than itself. Being published in the King's name, it was embodied, as an authentic and official document, in Hollinshed's Chronicle, from which it continued to be quoted, and copied, and reprinted, after James had disowned it, and Adamson had retracted it as a false and slanderous libel†.

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In the month of July 1584, the Earls of Angus and Mar, and the Master of Glamis, wrote to Melville, requesting him to repair to them immediately at Newcastle, along with Lawson, "on matters of greater importance" than they could judge of alone\*. With this request he was prevented from complying, as he was then absent from London on a visit to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge†. He was received at these ancient seats of literature in a manner becoming his profession and merits, and expressed himself much delighted with the magnificence of the colleges, the gravity of the professors, and the courteous manners of the students. On this occasion he formed an intimacy, which was afterwards kept up by letters, with two very promising young men, George Carleton, who became bishop of Chichester, and Thomas Savile, whose early erudition was no less admired than his premature death was deplored by the learned on the Continent and

that estate as to be so highly prejudged by the publick records of the realme; for our kirk was ever carefull, and at that time specially, to entertain amitie betwixt the two countries. But let such a lying libell lay there as a blurr to blot the Chronicles of England." (Cald. iii. 680.) But this was not all. In 1646, the Declaration was reprinted, in Scots and in English, not by the Cavaliers at Oxford, (that would not have been strange,) but by the friends of the parliament at London, who had so lately loaded the Scots with thanks for their "brotherly assistance," and solemnly vowed "the preservation of the reformed religion in the church of Scotland,—in discipline and government!" (Baillie's Historical Vindication, Epist. Dedic. A. 4.)

\* Cald. iii. 492.

Melville's Diary, p. 139.

in his native country \*. Melville afterwards paid a fine compliment to two of the theological masters, and to the young men whom he found at this time prosecuting their studies under them :

Non ita æterni Whittakerus † acer  
Luminis vindex, patriæque lumen,  
Dixit aut sensit : neque celsa summi  
Penna Renoldi ‡,  
Certa sublimes aperire calles,  
Sueta celestes iterare cursus,  
Læta misceri niveis beatæ  
Civibus aulæ.  
Nec Tami aut Cami accola saniore  
Mente, qui cælum sapit in frequenti  
Hermathensæo, et celebri Lyœo  
Culta juvenus ;  
Cujus affulget genio Jovæ lux :  
Cui nitens Sol justitiæ renidet :  
Quem juber Christi radiantis alto  
Spectat olympo §.

On his return to London, he had to perform the painful duty of attending the death-bed of his early friend, and highly esteemed brother, James

\* See Melville's letter " D. Th. Saville et G. Carletono," in the Appendix. Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* by Bliss, vol. i. col. 159 ; vol. ii. 312, 422. *Fasti*, coll. 212, 227. Thomas Savile was a younger brother of Sir Henry Savile, Provost of Eton College, and editor of the works of Chrysostom. His letters in *Cambdeni Epistolæ* shew the progress which he had made in recondite literature before Melville became acquainted with him.

† Dr. William Whittaker, Regius Professor and Master of St. John's College, Cambridge.

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**Lawson:** The air of England disagreed with his constitution, and brought on a disorder, which was aggravated by grief at the unhappy state of his native country and the undutiful behaviour of his flock. He had joined with his colleague in addressing a letter to the inhabitants of Edinburgh, in which they stated the reasons of their flight. Adamson drew up a reply in the name of the congregation, couched in the harshest and most contumelious language, denominating their ministers fugitives, rebels, and wolves, and renouncing all connection with them. This the King sent to the town-council, accompanied with an injunction that it should be subscribed by them and the principal inhabitants; and by the threats and importunities of the court, a number of persons were induced to set their names to this disgraceful paper\*. Their conduct made a deeper impression on the delicate spirits of Lawson than it ought to have done, considering all the circumstances of the case. He died piously and

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comfortably, bearing an honourable testimony to the cause in which he had spent his life, and exhorting his brethren, who surrounded his bed and sought to alleviate his sufferings by the most sympathizing attentions, to persevere in their attachment to it, whatever it might cost them. Such was the respect in which he was held, that, though a stranger, his body was accompanied to the grave by above five hundred persons of respectability. Lawson had been selected from all his brethren by Knox, to whom "he owed even his own self besides," as the individual best qualified for succeeding him in the charge of the church of Edinburgh; and his conduct in that important station, and during the most difficult times, proved that the choice had been made with our Reformer's usual sagacity. He was pious, learned, eloquent; modest, zealous, prudent\*. He had been originally in a humble situation, and displayed the ornament of a humble spirit after he rose to distinction. His capacity and avidity for learning when a young man had attracted the attention of Andrew Simson, the celebrated master of the school of Perth, who took him into his own house, bestowed upon him a gratuitous education, and recommended him first to the University of St. Andrews, and afterwards to the Countess of Crawford, whose son he accompanied as tutor to the Conti-

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ment\*. After his return to his native country, he testified his gratitude by the zeal with which he uniformly promoted public education; and his exertions in restoring the High School, and erecting the University of Edinburgh, entitle his name to a distinguished place among the benefactors of our national literature†.

Balcanquhall and Davidson preached once or twice in London, but received an order from the bishop to desist‡. When the banished noblemen came to the English capital, they applied for the use of a separate place of worship; but this liberty, which had

\* Wodrow's Life of James Lawson, pp. 1, 2, 30. Cald. iii. 535.

† Crawford's Hist. of University, pp. 19, 26. Feb. 3, 1568, he was presented to "the second place w<sup>in</sup> the new college or pedagog w<sup>in</sup> the universitie of Sanctandris," or, if it was already provided, to "the third place in the said new college." (Reg. of Present. vol. i. f. 23.) January 8, 1569, he was presented to the place of Sub-principal in the university of Aberdeen, (Ib. vol. i. f. 26, b.) He died on the 12th of October 1584, and was buried "in the new churchyard at Bedlem." His testament was subscribed by him "at London in Honielane of Cheapside, in Mr. Antony Martine's house upon Wednesday the 7 of October 1584." On hearing of his death, Archbishop Adamson wrote a testament in his name, containing a recantation of his principles, and a variety of letters to his brethren, in which he is made to reflect on their conduct and motives in opposing the King and the bishops. These, as well as the real testament, are inserted in Cald. iii. 537—584. His testament informs us, that he left three children. Among the alumni of the New College of St. Andrews, A. 1601, was "M. Jacobus Lowson, M. Jac. f. Edinburgh;" of whom the record says, "paulo post obiit." Elizabeth Lawson was his only surviving child in Aug. 23, 1603. (Inquisitiones Retorn. Gener. num. 142.) She married Mr. George Greir, minister of Haddington. (Commissary Records of Edinburgh, April 5, 1615.)

‡ Cald. iii. 649.

been granted to the French and Dutch, was refused to them. The Lieutenant of the Tower, however, invited the Scots ministers to preach in his Chapel, which was exempted from the jurisdiction of the bishop of London. Among other exercises performed there, Melville read a Latin lecture on Genesis, which was well attended, and much admired, particularly by the Earl of Angus, who possessed a more cultivated mind than any of the Scottish peerage\*. It is somewhat singular that Melville should, on this occasion, have officiated as a lecturer in the place where he was afterwards confined as a prisoner of state.

Scotland was in the mean time suffering from the ravages of the plague, by which its principal towns were depopulated, and from the scourge of the worst of all plagues, an insensate and despotic government. The following anecdotes, which are less generally known, will perhaps convey a livelier idea of the policy with which it was afflicted, than the more glaring acts of tyranny which have been often brought forward in histories. In the year 1584, Robert Brown, the founder of the sect of Brownists in England, came out of the Low Countries into Scotland, accompanied by some of his followers. Having taken up his residence in the Canongate of Edinburgh, he began to disseminate his peculiar opinions, and to circulate writings in which all the reformed churches were

\* Hume of Godscroft's Hist. ii. 361.

stigmatized as unscriptural and antichristian societies. The court took this rigid sectary under their protection, and encouraged him, for no other conceivable reason than his exclaiming against the ministers and calling in question their authority\*. At the same time Papists were openly favoured, and arrangements made with James Skeen, one of their emissaries, for having a colony of Jesuits quietly admitted into the country †.—The wives of the exiled ministers of Edinburgh, indignant at an abusive letter which Adamson had addressed to their husbands, wrote a reply to it, in which they expressed themselves with great warmth and treated his Grace very unceremoniously ‡. Instead of overlooking this very excusable, if not amiable, display of conjugal affection, or defending himself by the weapons with which he was assailed, the affronted primate, in a way rather unmanly, retreated behind the throne, and directed its thunder against the spirited females whose wrath he had provoked and whose charges he was unable to repel. A royal proclamation was issued, charging them and their families

\* Cald. iii. 302—304. On his return to England, Brown published a book into which he introduced various invectives against the ministers and government of the church of Scotland. Dr. Bancroft did not scruple to appeal to his inflamed statements, as one of the two authorities on which he rested his attack on the Presbyterian discipline. (Sermon preached at Paul's Cross, 9 Feb. 1588, p. 63. Reprinted Lond. 1636.)

† W. Davison to Sec. Walsingham. Cotton MSS. Calig. C. viii. 63.

‡ Harl. MSS. num. 291. 68. Cald. iii. 437.

instantly, under the pain of rebellion, to leave their manse; and also commanding and charging, under the same pains, certain other matrons, "worse affected to the obedience of our late acts of parliament, to remove from the capital, and retire beyond the water of Tay, till they give farther declaration of their disposition \*."—The treatment of the Countess of Gowrie, whose husband had been lately executed; was marked with the most savage inhumanity. She had come to Edinburgh to present a petition in behalf of her children, whose property was confiscated. After being different times repulsed, she one day met the King on the street, and "reaching at his cloak to stay his majesty, Arran, putting her from him, did not only overthrow her, which was easy to do in respect of the poor lady's weakness, but marched over her, who partly with extreme grief, and partly with weakness, swooned presently in the open street, and was fain to be conveyed into one of the next houses, where with much ado they recovered life of her †."—The last fact which I shall mention is, if possible, a proof of still deeper depravity, whether it be viewed in a political, moral, or religious light. William, Prince of Orange, the patriotic asserter of the liberties of the Low Countries, fell at this time by the hands of a hired assassin. When the news of his death came to Scotland, the King

\* Harl. MSS. num. 291. 66. Cald. iii. 531. Janet Adams, relict of Sir James Macgill of Rankeillor, Clerk Register, was among these "worse affected" ladies.

† Davison to Walsingham, Cotton MSS. Calig. C. viii. 84.

said openly, that the Prince had met with such an end as he deserved, and the greater part of the court rejoiced at the event \*.

An administration so much at variance with the sentiments of the nation, and which trampled so outrageously on its tenderest and most sacred feelings, could not maintain itself long. The people groaned for deliverance from a tyranny of which they durst not complain. The principal courtiers whom Arran had attached to him by his favours, disgusted at his arrogance, or anticipating the fall of his fortunes, consulted their own security by entering into a correspondence with those who were likely soon to supplant him. His power rested wholly on the dread he inspired and the ascendancy which he had gained over the royal mind. James himself began at last to feel unhappy, though he still continued to be the slave of an ignoble and vicious favouritism †. In these circumstances, the exiled noblemen, having obtained the permission of Elizabeth, appeared on the borders. They had scarcely entered Scotland when the inhabitants began to flock to their standard, and by the time that they reached Stirling, to which the court retreated on

\* Cotton MSS. Calig. C. viii. 63. Cald. iii. 435, 528.

† "The king is become very ill: I will say no worse. For, being at the hunting, when he came home, he drank to all his dogs. Among the rest he had one called *Tell-true*, to whom he spake thir words: *Tell-true*, I drink to thee above all the rest of my hounds; for I will give thee more credence nor either the Bishop or Craig." (David Hume of Godscroft to Mr. James Carmichael, March 20, 1584. Cald. iii. 750.)

Adamson, and contained vile and unfounded aspersions on the banished lords and on the proceedings of the church. Melville, of course, came in for a large share of the abuse. This declaration deserves particular notice as the original of those misrepresentations of Scots affairs, which prevailed so long in England and are not completely removed at this day. The answers given to it by Melville and others exposed its falsehoods; but they shared the fate of all fugitive pieces in being soon lost and forgotten\*. The Declaration, on the contrary, was carefully preserved. By means of some of Arran's agents, it was reprinted at London, with a preface more odious than itself. Being published in the King's name, it was embodied, as an authentic and official document, in Hollinshed's Chronicle, from which it continued to be quoted, and copied, and reprinted, after James had disowned it, and Adamson had retracted it as a false and slanderous libel†.

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Luminis vindex, patriæque lumen,  
Dixit aut sensit : neque celsa summi  
Penna Renoldi ‡,  
Certa sublimes aperire calles,  
Sueta cœlestes iterare cursus,  
Læta misceri niveis beatæ  
Civibus aulæ.  
Nec Tami aut Cami accola saniore  
Mente, qui cœlum sapit in frequenti  
Hermathensæo, et celebri Lycæo  
Culta juvenus ;  
Cujus affulget genio Jovæ lux :  
Cui nitens Sol justitiæ renidet :  
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**Lawson.** The air of England disagreed with his constitution, and brought on a disorder, which was aggravated by grief at the unhappy state of his native country and the undutiful behaviour of his flock. He had joined with his colleague in addressing a letter to the inhabitants of Edinburgh, in which they stated the reasons of their flight. Adamson drew up a reply in the name of the congregation, couched in the harshest and most contumelious language, denominating their ministers fugitives, rebels, and wolves, and renouncing all connection with them. This the King sent to the town-council, accompanied with an injunction that it should be subscribed by them and the principal inhabitants; and by the threats and importunities of the court, a number of persons were induced to set their names to this disgraceful paper\*. Their conduct made a deeper impression on the delicate spirits of Lawson than it ought to have done, considering all the circumstances of the case. He died piously and

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‡ Cald. iii. 619.

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Scotland was in the mean time suffering from the ravages of the plague, by which its principal towns were depopulated, and from the scourge of the worst of all plagues, an insensate and despotical government. The following anecdotes, which are less generally known, will perhaps convey a livelier idea of the policy with which it was afflicted, than the more glaring acts of tyranny which have been often brought forward in histories. In the year 1584, Robert Brown, the founder of the sect of Brownists in England, came out of the Low Countries into Scotland, accompanied by some of his followers. Having taken up his residence in the Canongate of Edinburgh, he began to disseminate his peculiar opinions, and to circulate writings in which all the reformed churches were

\* Hume of Godscroft's Hist. ii. 361.

stigmatized as unscriptural and antichristian societies. The court took this rigid sectary under their protection, and encouraged him, for no other conceivable reason than his exclaiming against the ministers and calling in question their authority\*. At the same time Papists were openly favoured, and arrangements made with James Skeen, one of their emissaries, for having a colony of Jesuits quietly admitted into the country †.—The wives of the exiled ministers of Edinburgh, indignant at an abusive letter which Adamson had addressed to their husbands, wrote a reply to it, in which they expressed themselves with great warmth and treated his Grace very unceremoniously ‡. Instead of overlooking this very excusable, if not amiable, display of conjugal affection, or defending himself by the weapons with which he was assailed, the affronted primate, in a way rather unmanly, retreated behind the throne, and directed its thunder against the spirited females whose wrath he had provoked and whose charges he was unable to repel. A royal proclamation was issued, charging them and their families

\* Cald. iii. 302—304. On his return to England, Brown published a book into which he introduced various invectives against the ministers and government of the church of Scotland. Dr. Bancroft did not scruple to appeal to his inflamed statements, as one of the two authorities on which he rested his attack on the Presbyterian discipline. (Sermon preached at Paul's Cross, 9 Feb. 1588, p. 63. Reprinted Lond. 1636.)

† W. Davison to Sec. Walsingham. Cotton MSS. Calig. C. viii. 63.

‡ Harl. MSS. num. 291. 68. Cald. iii. 437.

Adamson, and contained vile and unfounded aspersions on the banished lords and on the proceedings of the church. Melville, of course, came in for a large share of the abuse. This declaration deserves particular notice as the original of those misrepresentations of Scots affairs, which prevailed so long in England and are not completely removed at this day. The answers given to it by Melville and others exposed its falsehoods; but they shared the fate of all fugitive pieces in being soon lost and forgotten\*. The Declaration, on the contrary, was carefully preserved. By means of some of Arran's agents, it was reprinted at London, with a preface more odious than itself. Being published in the King's name, it was embodied, as an authentic and official document, in Hollinshed's Chronicle, from which it continued to be quoted, and copied, and reprinted, after James had disowned it, and Adamson had retracted it as a false and slanderous libel †.

\* Melville's reply (inserted in Cald. MS. iii. 714—734.) is entitled, "Answer to the Declaration of certain Intentions set out in the King's name, &c. 7th of Feb. 1685." James Melville is supposed to be the author of another reply, in the form of a Dialogue between Zelator, Temporizor, and Palæmon, which is dated Newcastle, Feb. 10, 1685, (Cald. iii. 672—714.) It is probable that both were printed. (Ib. 423, 428. 753.) The former reply passes over what relates to Melville; but the latter vindicates him strenuously, and its style is sharper and more acrimonious than that of the other. Extracts from both may be seen in the printed Calderwood, pp. 174—184.

† This was strange, considering that the Declaration was the Manifesto of an arbitrary administration, and an abusive attack on the men who had uniformly shown themselves the most steady friends of England. "Our kirk deserved no such indignity at the hands of

In the month of July 1584, the Earls of Angus and Mar, and the Master of Glamis, wrote to Melville, requesting him to repair to them immediately at Newcastle, along with Lawson, "on matters of greater importance" than they could judge of alone\*. With this request he was prevented from complying, as he was then absent from London on a visit to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge†. He was received at these ancient seats of literature in a manner becoming his profession and merits, and expressed himself much delighted with the magnificence of the colleges, the gravity of the professors, and the courteous manners of the students. On this occasion he formed an intimacy, which was afterwards kept up by letters, with two very promising young men, George Carleton, who became bishop of Chichester, and Thomas Savile, whose early erudition was no less admired than his premature death was deplored by the learned on the Continent and

that estate as to be so highly prejudged by the publick records of the realme; for our kirk was ever carefull, and at that time specially, to entertain amitie betwixt the two countries. Bat let such a lying libell lay there as a blurr to blot the Chronicles of England." (Cald. iii. 680.) But this was not all. In 1646, the Declaration was reprinted, in Scots and in English, not by the Cavaliers at Oxford, (that would not have been strange,) but by the friends of the parliament at London, who had so lately loaded the Scots with thanks for their "brotherly assistance," and solemnly vowed "the preservation of the reformed religion in the church of Scotland,—in discipline and government!" (Baillie's Historical Vindication, Epist. Dedic. A. 4.)

\* Cald. iii. 492.

Melville's Diary, p. 160.



in his native country \*. Melville afterwards paid a fine compliment to two of the theological masters, and to the young men whom he found at this time prosecuting their studies under them :

Non ita æterni Whittakerus † acer  
Laminis vindex, patriæque lumen,  
Dixit aut sensit : neque celsa summi  
Penna Renoldi ‡,  
Certa sublimes aperire calles,  
Sueta cœlestes iterare cursus,  
Læta misceri niveis beata  
Civibus aula.  
Nec Tami aut Cami accola saniore  
Mente, qui cœlum sapit in frequenti  
Hermathensæo, et celebri Lycæo  
Culta juvenus ;  
Cujus affulget genio Jovæ lux :  
Cui nitens Sol justitiæ renidet :  
Quem jubar Christi radiantis alto  
Spectat olympo §.

On his return to London, he had to perform the painful duty of attending the death-bed of his early friend, and highly esteemed brother, James

\* See Melville's letter " D. Th. Saville et G. Carletono," in the Appendix. Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* by Bliss, vol. i. col. 139 ; vol. ii. 312, 422. *Fasti*, coll. 212, 227. Thomas Savile was a younger brother of Sir Henry Savile, Provost of Eton College, and editor of the works of Chrysostom. His letters in *Cambdeni Epistolæ* shew the progress which he had made in recondite literature before Melville became acquainted with him.

† Dr. William Whittaker, Regius Professor and Master of St. John's College, Cambridge.

‡ Dr. John Rainolds, Divinity Reader, and successively Master of Queen's College and President of Corpus Christi, Oxford.

§ *Anti-tami-cami Categoria*, Authore A. Melvino, 1604.

Lawson. The air of England disagreed with his constitution, and brought on a disorder, which was aggravated by grief at the unhappy state of his native country and the undutiful behaviour of his flock. He had joined with his colleague in addressing a letter to the inhabitants of Edinburgh, in which they stated the reasons of their flight. Adamson drew up a reply in the name of the congregation, couched in the harshest and most contumelious language, denominating their ministers fugitives, rebels, and wolves, and renouncing all connection with them. This the King sent to the town-council, accompanied with an injunction that it should be subscribed by them and the principal inhabitants; and by the threats and importunities of the court, a number of persons were induced to set their names to this disgraceful paper\*. Their conduct made a deeper impression on the delicate spirits of Lawson than it ought to have done, considering all the circumstances of the case. He died piously and

\* *Cald. iii.* 377—383, 436. *Hume of Godscroft's Hist. ii.* 361.—On the 11th June, 1584, a commissioner from his Majesty presented to the town-council an answer to a letter of their ministers, with a charge to subscribe it; because it appeared to be “condemned in schair and such tearmes,” the council appointed another form to be drawn up. On the afternoon of the same day, they appointed some of their number to go to Falkland to entreat his Majesty, that they should “nocht be burthenit w<sup>th</sup> any thing hurtfull to yair consciences, and to labour that his Maistie may be content with the second form yof pennit be the town.” (*Records of Town-Council of Edinburgh, vol. vii.* §1, b. 92, a.) This request was peremptorily refused. (See the Letter from William Davison to Secretary Walsingham, June 15, 1584, in the Appendix.)

comfortably, bearing an honourable testimony to the cause in which he had spent his life, and exhorting his brethren, who surrounded his bed and sought to alleviate his sufferings by the most sympathizing attentions, to persevere in their attachment to it, whatever it might cost them. Such was the respect in which he was held, that, though a stranger, his body was accompanied to the grave by above five hundred persons of respectability. Lawson had been selected from all his brethren by Knox, to whom "he owed even his own self besides," as the individual best qualified for succeeding him in the charge of the church of Edinburgh; and his conduct in that important station, and during the most difficult times, proved that the choice had been made with our Reformer's usual sagacity. He was pious, learned, eloquent; modest, zealous, prudent\*. He had been originally in a humble situation, and displayed the ornament of a humble spirit after he rose to distinction. His capacity and avidity for learning when a young man had attracted the attention of Andrew Simson, the celebrated master of the school of Perth, who took him into his own house, bestowed upon him a gratuitous education, and recommended him first to the University of St. Andrews, and afterwards to the Countess of Crawford, whose son he accompanied as tutor to the Conti-

\* David Buchanan *De Script. Scot. Illustr.* num. 58. MS. Adv. Lib. W. 6. 34. The works which this author ascribes to Lawson appear to have been all in manuscript.

ment\*. After his return to his native country, he testified his gratitude by the zeal with which he uniformly promoted public education ; and his exertions in restoring the High School, and erecting the University of Edinburgh, entitle his name to a distinguished place among the benefactors of our national literature †.

Balcanquhall and Davidson preached once or twice in London, but received an order from the bishop to desist ‡. When the banished noblemen came to the English capital, they applied for the use of a separate place of worship ; but this liberty, which had

\* Wodrow's Life of James Lawson, pp. 1, 2, 30. Cald. iii. 533.

† Crawford's Hist. of University, pp. 19, 26. Feb. 3, 1568, he was presented to " the second place w<sup>th</sup>in the new college or pedagog w<sup>th</sup>in the universitie of Sanctandrois," or, if it was already provided, to " the third place in the said new college." (Reg. of Present. vol. i. f. 23.) January 8, 1569, he was presented to the place of Sub-principal in the university of Aberdeen, (Ib. vol. i. f. 26, b.) He died on the 12th of October 1584, and was buried " in the new church-yaird at Bedlem." His testament was subscribed by him " at London in Honielane of Cheapside, in Mr. Antony Martine's house upon Wednesday the 7 of October 1584." On hearing of his death, Archbishop Adamson wrote a testament in his name, containing a recantation of his principles, and a variety of letters to his brethren, in which he is made to reflect on their conduct and motives in opposing the King and the bishops. These, as well as the real testament, are inserted in Cald. iii. 537—584. His testament informs us, that he left three children. Among the alumni of the New College of St. Andrews, A. 1601, was " M. Jacobus Lowson, M. Jac. f. Edinburg.;" of whom the record says, " paulo post obiit." Elizabeth Lawson was his only surviving child in Aug. 23, 1603. (Inquisitiones Retorn. Gener. num. 142.) She married Mr. George Greir, minister of Haddington. (Commissary Records of Edinburgh, April 5, 1615.)

‡ Cald. iii. 619.

been granted to the French and Dutch, was refused to them. The Lieutenant of the Tower, however, invited the Scots ministers to preach in his Chapel, which was exempted from the jurisdiction of the bishop of London. Among other exercises performed there, Melville read a Latin lecture on Genesis, which was well attended, and much admired, particularly by the Earl of Angus, who possessed a more cultivated mind than any of the Scottish peerage\*. It is somewhat singular that Melville should, on this occasion, have officiated as a lecturer in the place where he was afterwards confined as a prisoner of state.

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stigmatized as unscriptural and antichristian societies. The court took this rigid sectary under their protection, and encouraged him, for no other conceivable reason than his exclaiming against the ministers and calling in question their authority \*. At the same time Papists were openly favoured, and arrangements made with James Skeen, one of their emissaries, for having a colony of Jesuits quietly admitted into the country †.—The wives of the exiled ministers of Edinburgh, indignant at an abusive letter which Adamson had addressed to their husbands, wrote a reply to it, in which they expressed themselves with great warmth and treated his Grace very unceremoniously ‡. Instead of overlooking this very excusable, if not amiable, display of conjugal affection, or defending himself by the weapons with which he was assailed, the affronted primate, in a way rather unmanly, retreated behind the throne, and directed its thunder against the spirited females whose wrath he had provoked and whose charges he was unable to repel. A royal proclamation was issued, charging them and their families

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‡ Harl. MSS. num. 291. 68. Cald. iii. 437.

instantly, under the pain of rebellion, to leave their manses; and also commanding and charging, under the same pains, certain other matrons, "worse affected to the obedience of our late acts of parliament, to remove from the capital, and retire beyond the water of Tay, till they give farther declaration of their disposition \*."—The treatment of the Countess of Gowrie, whose husband had been lately executed, was marked with the most savage inhumanity. She had come to Edinburgh to present a petition in behalf of her children, whose property was confiscated. After being different times repulsed, she one day met the King on the street, and "reaching at his cloak to stay his majesty, Arran, putting her from him, did not only overthrow her, which was easy to do in respect of the poor lady's weakness, but marched over her, who partly with extreme grief, and partly with weakness, swooned presently in the open street, and was fain to be conveyed into one of the next houses, where with much ado they recovered life of her †."—The last fact which I shall mention is, if possible, a proof of still deeper depravity, whether it be viewed in a political, moral, or religious light. William, Prince of Orange, the patriotic assertor of the liberties of the Low Countries, fell at this time by the hands of a hired assassin. When the news of his death came to Scotland, the King

\* Harl. MSS. num. 291. 66. Cald. iii. 531. Janet Adamson, relict of Sir James Macgill of Rankeillor, Clerk Register, was among these "worse affected" ladies.

† Davison to Walsingham, Cotton MSS. Calig. C. viii. 84.

said openly, that the Prince had met with such an end as he deserved, and the greater part of the court rejoiced at the event \*.

An administration so much at variance with the sentiments of the nation, and which trampled so outrageously on its tenderest and most sacred feelings, could not maintain itself long. The people groaned for deliverance from a tyranny of which they durst not complain. The principal courtiers whom Arran had attached to him by his favours, disgusted at his arrogance, or anticipating the fall of his fortunes, consulted their own security by entering into a correspondence with those who were likely soon to supplant him. His power rested wholly on the dread he inspired and the ascendancy which he had gained over the royal mind. James himself began at last to feel unhappy, though he still continued to be the slave of an ignoble and vicious favouritism †. In these circumstances, the exiled noblemen, having obtained the permission of Elizabeth, appeared on the borders. They had scarcely entered Scotland when the inhabitants began to flock to their standard, and by the time that they reached Stirling, to which the court retreated on

\* Cotton MSS. Calig. C. viii. 63. Cald. iii. 435, 528.

† "The king is become very ill: I will say no worse. For, being at the hunting, when he came home, he drank to all his dogs. Among the rest he had one called *Tell-true*, to whom he spake thir words: *Tell-true*, I drink to thee above all the rest of my hounds; for I will give thee more credence nor either the Bishop or Craig." (David Hume of Godscroft to Mr. James Carmichael, March 20, 1584. Cald. iii. 750.)



their approach, they found themselves surrounded with a numerous army. After meeting with a slight resistance, they entered the town, and Arran consulted his safety by flight. A short negociation followed ; and the King having come from the castle, the nobles laid down their arms, and were admitted to favour and power.

Melville accompanied the banished noblemen from London, and returned to Scotland in the beginning of November 1585, after an absence of twenty months \*.

\* Melville's Diary, pp. 162—164.

## CHAPTER V.

1585—1592.

MELVILLE exerts himself in recovering the Liberties of the Church—Difficulties in the Way of this—Selfishness of the Restored Noblemen—Threatened Dissension among the Ministers of the Church—Education and Character of the King—Examples of his Dogmatism—Restoration of the Theological College of St. Andrews—Melville Invited back to the College of Glasgow—Returns to his Place at St. Andrews—His Share in the Process against Adamson—He is Confined beyond the Tay—Is Restored—Disputes on the Execution of Queen Mary—The French Poet, Du Bartas, Visits the University of St. Andrews—Annexation of the Temporalities of Bishoprics to the Crown—Exertions of Melville at the Time of the Spanish Armada—Interview between James Melville and a Spanish Admiral—The Court Favourable to the Church—Robert Bruce—Melville's Stephaniskion Pronounced at the Coronation of the Queen—Royal Encomium on the Church of Scotland—Bancroft's Attack on it—Disgrace, Recantation, and Death of Adamson—Civil Establishment of Presbytery—Remarks upon it.

THE first object that engaged Melville's attention, after his return to Scotland, was the restoration of the liberties of the church, which lay buried under

the late parliamentary laws. Considering the corrupt influence by which they had been procured, the irregular manner in which they were enacted, and the baleful effects which they had produced, the abrogation of these laws might have been expected, almost as a matter of course, at the first meeting of the estates of the kingdom. But it soon appeared that this measure would have to encounter the most strenuous opposition, and that it would find weak and treacherous friends in those who were under the greatest obligations to support it.

The removal of the corruptions which had been introduced into the church during the late maladministration, was at first craved by the nobility, and acceded to by the King in general terms \*. But, in the course of the conferences, the sagacity of Secretary Maitland soon discovered, that, provided they obtained satisfaction in what regarded themselves, the most of the nobles would be easily induced to pass from their demands respecting the church. Emboldened by this information, the King opposed any alteration of the existing ecclesiastical law, as touching on his prerogative which he was determined to maintain. And the nobility consented to gratify him in this, at the expense of their honour and good faith. In all the manifestoes which they had published to the world, they professed that one of their primary objects was the redress of the grievances under which the church laboured. They

\* Melville's Diary, p. 164.

had repeatedly and solemnly pledged themselves to the same cause during their exile\*; and by this means had secured the good wishes and cordial support of the nation in their recent attempt. The hardships and sufferings which the ministers of the church had endured, were owing, in no small degree, to the inviolable attachment which they had shewn to the liberties of the nation and the interests of the nobility. Had they refused to approve of the Raid of Ruthven, or had they afterwards consented to retract the approbation which they had given it, and yielded their support to the administration of Arran, they might have secured to themselves favourable terms, or at least have escaped persecution;—they might have escaped imprisonment, and the loss of goods, and exile, and this last wrong and insult, for which they were altogether unprepared, and which was, in some respects, more galling and intolerable than all the former. The nobility did not pretend to deny the truth of these allegations. But they pleaded that the King was inflexibly bent on the maintenance of episcopacy; that he felt his honour implicated in the support of the late statutes; that it was necessary to humour him and to gain his affections; that as soon as their power was firmly established they would obtain for the church all that she required; and that, in the mean time, if any altercation arose, they would interpose their influence between her ministers and

\* Cald. iii. 328, 329, 800. Melville's Diary, p. 133.

the resentment of the sovereign. All this was only an excuse for bad faith; and it was, moreover, bad policy. The King could not, and he would not, have refused the joint demands of the nobility and the church; his honour could not suffer so much from giving up the bishops as it had done from declaring good subjects and admitting into his secret council men whom he had so lately proclaimed traitors and rebels; they could urge their sense of duty and the public pledges which they had given, with more propriety, and with less risk of giving offence, than their own personal claims; by humouring his Majesty in the manner proposed they would foster the prejudices which he had unfortunately conceived, infuse jealousies of him into the minds of his best subjects, and give occasion to discord and dissension between him and the ministers of the church; and, in fine, the boon which, if now conferred, would allay all animosities, diffuse joy and gratitude among all his Majesty's subjects, and establish the authority of his present counsellors on a solid and permanent basis, would, if withheld till a future and distant period, produce none of these salutary effects—be conferred without cordiality, and accepted without confidence\*.

From the charge of selfishness and ingratitude to which the nobility of Scotland subjected themselves on the present occasion, justice requires that we

\* Hume of Godscroft's Hist. ii. 375—381, 402—407. Cald. iii. 853. Sir James Melville's Mem. 171.

should except the Earl of Angus, who remained faithful to his promises, and deeply lamented the defection of his peers. This is but a small part of the tribute due to the memory of the most patriotic, pious, and intelligent of the Scottish nobility, whose modest and unassuming disposition, and retired habits, prevented him from taking that lead in public affairs to which he was entitled by his rank, and which those who best knew his worth and talents were most anxious that he should not have declined \*. It has been one of the great misfortunes of princes and commonwealths, that men of integrity and real patriotism have shrunk from the contest necessary to obtain and keep possession of high official stations, and have given way to the ambitious, the daring, and the unprincipled, who deemed no sacrifices too dear for the enjoyment of power, and scrupled not to set a whole nation or even the world on fire, that they might rescue their own names from obscurity. This will continue to be the case until the period when a change shall take place which it will require something more to bring about than a mere reform of constitutional laws, when it shall be believed that the affairs of a nation can be managed on the same principles as other affairs, and when sound sense and sterling principle shall be more admired by the public, than a talent, not for great things—for that has always been very

\* Hume of Godscroft, ii. 289, 293, 344, 375. Melville's Diary, pp. 134, 164, 230. Spots. 372.

rare—but for intrigue and bustle and shew; a period, as to the near approach of which the wisest will not be the most sanguine in their expectations.

One of the first acts of the new counsellors was to advise the King to summon a parliament to be held at Linlithgow in the month of December. This was necessary to rescind the forfeitures under which they were still lying, and to legalize the step which they had lately taken. It had been the almost uniform practice, since the Reformation, for the General Assembly to convene before the meeting of Parliament, that they might have an opportunity of preparing petitions to lay before that high court. Accordingly it was judged proper that the moderator of last Assembly should call an extraordinary meeting to be held at Dunfermline in the end of November. But when the members assembled, the provost, alleging an express command from his Majesty, refused them admission into the town; upon which they met in the fields, and adjourned to meet again at Linlithgow some days before the opening of Parliament\*.

In the interval Melville was busily employed in repressing a dissension which threatened to break out among his brethren respecting subscription to the late bond. Travelling through different parts of the country, he urged the necessity of union on the present occasion, and prevailed on the subscribers to co-operate with their brethren in petitioning

\* Melville's Diary, pp. 164, 165.

for the repeal of the offensive laws \*. The success which attended his labours was nearly blasted after they assembled at Linlithgow. A preacher introduced the subject imprudently into the pulpit, and condemned the conduct of the subscribers. Craig considered his honour as affected by this, and in a sermon preached before the members of Parliament, not only vindicated what he had done, and blamed the *peregrine ministers*, (as he called those who had fled to England,) but, contrary to the doctrine which he had himself formerly maintained, he extended the royal prerogative beyond all reasonable bounds, and exhorted the noblemen, instead of standing upon their innocence, to crave pardon of his Majesty †. This incident would have led to consequences fatal to the church, had not the flame been allayed by the interposition of the wiser and more moderate, who persuaded the parties to postpone the adjustment of their differences to a future period. This affair having been accommodated, a deputation of ministers was appointed to wait on the nobility, and again to urge the fulfilment of their promises. They intreated, reasoned, expostulated, threatened; but all to no purpose. The only answer which they could obtain was, that an insuperable obstacle had presented itself in the repugnance of the royal mind to their requests. They were thus reduced to the necessity of having recourse to the King, and this led to

\* Cald. iii. 810.

† Life of Knox, ii. 127; compare Hutne of Godscroft, ii. 333—339.



a personal altercation with him, which they were most anxious to avoid. He received them very ungraciously, repeated all the charges against them which they had been accustomed to hear from Lennox and Arran, and made use of expressions which were not more disrespectful to them than they were indecorous from the lips of a king. The consequence was, that he was obliged to hear some things in reply which were not the most grateful to his royal ears. Melville defended himself and his brethren with spirit, and hot speeches passed between his Majesty and him at several interviews.

At the King's desire the ministers drew up their animadversions on those laws of which they craved the repeal. When these were presented to his Majesty he shut himself up in his chamber, and spent a whole day in penning a reply to them with his own hand. This he delivered to the ministers as his declaration and interpretation of the statutes, telling them that it should be as valid and authentic as an act of Parliament\*. It differed considerably from the declaration lately published by authority, and which James now thought proper to disavow under the name of "the bishop of St. Andrews' own declaration †." But still it defended, and

\* Printed Calderwood, pp. 193—196. James prefixed to his Declaration the words, *Ejus est explicare cujus est condere*; a legal maxim of which he was extremely fond, and which he often used in this application. (King James's Works, p. 520. Lord Hailes, Memorials, i. 52.)

† The following is a specimen of his Majesty's explications; and of his egotistic dialect: "My bishops, which are one of the three

indicated a disposition to support, the main encroachments which had been made on the jurisdiction and liberties of the church. Notwithstanding the challenge with which it concluded, the ministers declined engaging in a contest in which authority would have supplied the lack of argument. As Parliament was in haste to conclude its business, they contented themselves with presenting a supplication to the King, in which, after expressing their satisfaction at the display which he had given of his "knowledge and judgment," they craved that the subject should be submitted to grave consultation; that the execution of the objectionable acts should be suspended until the next meeting of Parliament; that they should have liberty to hold their ecclesiastical assemblies as heretofore; that the bishops should

estates, shall have power, as far as God's word and example of the primitive kirk will permit, and not according to that man of sin his abominable abuses and corruptions.—In the fourth act, *I* discharge all jurisdictions not approved in parliament and conventions without my special license.—*I* acclaime not to myself to be judge of doctrine in religion, salvation, heresies, or true interpretation of Scripture. *I* allow not a bishop according to the traditions of men or inventions of the pope, but only according to God's word.—Finally *I say* his office *in solum sacerdotis ad vitam*, having therefore some prelation and dignity above his brethren, as was in the primitive kirk.—To conclude, *I* confess and acknowledge Christ Jesus to be head and lawgiver to the church, and whatsoever person doth arrogate to himself as head of the kirk, and not as member, to suspend or alter any thing that the word of God hath only remitted unto them, that man, *I say*, committeth manifest idolatry, and sinneth against the Father, in not trusting the word of the Son; against the Son, in not obeying him, and taking his place; against the Holy Ghost, the said Holy Spirit bearing contrary record to his conscience."

assume no more power than they exercised before the late enactments ; and that all ministers and masters of colleges should be restored to their places and possessions. The last article of their request was the only one which was ratified by Parliament\*.

This Parliament dissolved without fulfilling any of the expectations which had been raised by the circumstance in which it met. In the long list of its acts, consisting of so many ratifications to noblemen and gentlemen who had been lately outlawed, and including the names of hundreds of their retainers, we look in vain for one statute calculated to secure personal or public liberty against the invasions of arbitrary power†. On the other hand it decreed the punishment of death, “to be executed with all rigour,” against such as should publicly or privately speak to the reproach of his Majesty’s person or government, or should misconstrue his proceedings ; and it prohibited, under the pains of sedition, all leagues or bands among the subjects without his Majesty’s privity and consent, under whatever pretext they should be made‡ : although the principal members owed their seats in that parliament to a league of this description, and had recently been

\* Cald. iii. 210—228, 253. Melville’s Diary, pp. 175—179. Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 395.

† The only act which has the semblance of this is that which relates to charges *super inquirendis* ; and all the provision which it makes is, that the charge shall be subscribed by four of the chief officers of state. (Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 377.)

‡ Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 375, 376.

charged by open proclamation with using those very freedoms against which they now denounced so exemplary a punishment. The despotical acts of Arran's parliament were left untouched ; and although some of them were in whole or in part rescinded or disabled by subsequent statutes, yet others continue to this day to disgrace our legal code ; and recourse has been had to them, even in modern times, by high-flying statesmen and court-lawyers, to crush opposition to unpopular measures or to inflict vengeance on those who had incurred their political resentment. It has been remarked, that the lords, after the enterprise of Ruthven, " improved the opportunity of insinuating themselves into" the King's " favour with little dexterity \*." It appears that they were now convinced of their error ; and as they were men by no means destitute of sagacity, their conduct shews what was the most likely way of securing the royal favour.

As the personal conduct of his Majesty had from this period great influence on transactions in church and state, and as his name will often occur in the following pages, it may be proper here to give some account of his education and character.

James, after he grew up, was accustomed to complain of the treatment he had received from those who governed the kingdom during his minority. In these complaints there was much ingratitude mixed with the political prejudices which he unhappily im-

\* Robertson's Hist. of Scot. ii. 419.

bibed. No monarch of that age had such attention paid to him in his early years. Every provision was made, by the Estates of the kingdom, for his personal safety and comfort, and for his being educated in a manner becoming his rank as king of Scotland, and his prospects as presumptive heir to the throne of England. The command of the Castle of Stirling, chosen as the place of his residence, was entrusted, upon the death of the Regent Mar, to his brother, Sir Alexander Erskine of Gogar, a gentleman of approved courage, and of the strictest honour and integrity. The immediate care of James's person, during his youth, was committed to Annabella, Countess of Mar, the widow of the deceased regent, who discharged the duties of her place with the most unexceptionable propriety and delicacy \*. David and Adam Erskine, commendators of Dryburgh and Cambuskenneth, both gentlemen of excellent character, superintended the bodily exercises and sports proper for a young prince. Gilbert Moncrieff, a learned man who had studied in foreign universities, and sustained the fairest reputation both abroad and at home, held the place of physician in the royal household †. The superin-

\* "*Sed hoc est memorabile quod Comitissæ Mariæ, Proregis uxori, commissus fuerit enutriendus, quæ, profecto, gravitate, bonitate, omnes nobiles exsuperavit, quæ, quantum præ loci ejus dignitate potuit, Regem sicut ejus filium aluit, fovit, et, Zoilo etiam contratestante, nutrit. Sic Rex puer omnimodo felix, si fortunam suam non læsisset.*" (Arch. Simson, *Annales Eccl. Scot.* MS. p. 158. See also *Act. Parl. Scot.* vol. iii. p. 158.)

† Buchanani *Epist.* p. 27. Melville's *Diary*, pp. 39, 56.

tendence of the Prince's studies, and of whatever related to the improvement of his mind, was devolved on Buchanan, who was qualified for this important task not less by his unbending integrity and the soundness of his judgment, than by the splendour of his genius and the extent of his erudition.

The plan on which the education of James was conducted is a proof of the enlightened views of his preceptor. It included the learned languages, arithmetic, geography, astronomy, rhetoric, logic, and history \*. In the exercises in composition prescribed to the royal pupil, more attention appears to have been paid to improvement in the vernacular language than was common at that period †. Great care was taken to instruct him in modern history, and especially the history of the nation over which he was to rule ‡. And next to the imbuing of his mind with the principles of religion and virtue, it was Buchanan's great concern to give him just views of the nature of government, and what was incumbent on the king of a free people §.

James enjoyed the advantages of a private and public education combined. Several young men of

\* Irving's Memoirs of Buchanan, p. 160, second edit.

† It is highly probable, that "The Essayes of a Prentice in the Divine Art of Poesie," the earliest publication of James, consisted chiefly of exercises performed by him under the direction of Buchanan.

‡ Sibbaldi Comment. in Vitam G. Buchanani, p. 20.

§ See his Dedications to the king of his *Baptistes*, *De Jure Regni*, and *Histor. Rer. Scot.* Translations of these may be seen in Dr. Irving's Memoirs.

rank were allowed to reside in the castle, and to carry on their studies along with him; as the young Earl of Mar, Sir William Murray of Abercairny, a nephew of the Countess of Mar, who spent his future life at court, Walter Stewart, afterwards Lord Blantyre and Lord High Treasurer, and the Lord Invertye \*. To these may be added Jerom Groslet, a Frenchman, afterwards known by the name of the *Sieur de l'Isle* †, who lived in habits of friendship with the greatest men of his age, and by his attachment to letters and his exertions in behalf of religious liberty, proved himself worthy of the master

\* Crawford's *Officers of State*, pp. 393, 402. Douglas's *Baronage*, p. 162. Mackenzie's *Lives*, iii. 172.

† "Comite itineris Hieronymo Grosletio Lislæo, nobili Gallo, cuius maiores ex Francia Germaniæ oriundi erant, qui cum adolescentulæ Jacobo vi. Scotiæ rege, sub Georgio Buchanano, educatus fuerat, Academiis, Oxoniensem et Cantabrigiensem, bibliothecasque libris veteribus refertissimas, perlustrasset." (*Vita Pauli Meliassi*, in *Adam Vit. German. Philosoph.* p. 450.)

His father, a respectable magistrate of Orleans, lost his life in the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Buchanan repaid the civilities which he had formerly received from the father, by the kind reception which he gave to the son, when he took refuge in Scotland. It was doubtless by his influence that the young exile was received at court, and permitted to prosecute his studies along with the prince. In consequence of the connexions which he at this time formed with the court of Scotland, the *Sieur de l'Isle* was afterwards employed in certain confidential communications between James and Henry IV. of France, while the latter was king of Navarre. They related chiefly to a proposal of marriage between King James and Henry's sister. Bayle is incorrect in his statement of this affair. (*Dict. art. Navarre, Jeanne d'Albret Reine de. Note Z.*) The true state of facts may be learned from *Memoires de M. du Plessis*, tom. i. pp. 125—127, 624, 648, 656; and *Vie de M. Plessis*, p. 122.

under whom he was educated, and of the high commendations which he received from him \*.

When the education of a young man is entrusted to more than one tutor, it is of the utmost consequence that they harmonize in their views and mode of management. To the want of this is to be ascribed in no small degree the disappointment of the hopes formed from the education of James. Peter Young acted as Buchanan's assistant, and was sufficiently qualified for attending to the more trivial parts of instruction †. Young was destitute of Buchanan's genius, and every way his inferior in literature; but he possessed one talent to which his colleague was an utter stranger, that of knowing how to improve the situation which he held to his own advantage. He did not indeed fail in outward respect for Buchanan, nor did he resist his authority, but he injured him more deeply than if he had been guilty of both these offences. Buchanan had undertaken the delicate task of directing the young king's education from the most disinterested motives, and he never suffered himself to be diverted from

\* *Lipsil Opera*, tom. ii. pp. 139, 144. *Teissier, Eloges*, tom. iii. p. 314. *Buchanani Epist.* pp. 33, 34; and *Irving's Memoirs of Buchanan*, pp. 279—282. In 1612, he sat in the National Synod of Privas, as an elder of the church of Orleans, and was one of the deputies appointed to reconcile the Marshal Duke of Bouillon to the Dukes of Sully and Rohan. (*Quick, Synodicon Gallie Reformatæ*, vol. i. pp. 347, 368.)

† Young was for some time on the Continent with his uncle, Henry Scrimger, and attended the University of Lausanne. (*Smith, Vita Petri Junli*, p. 4. *Adami Vit. German. Theolog.* p. 766.)



his duty by the slightest regard to his own emolument. He did not forget that he was training up one who was destined to reign, but he knew that the best way for fitting him to sway the sceptre, when it should be placed in his hands, was to treat him as a boy as long as he was such ; and he guarded against fostering those premature or extravagant ideas of superiority which are but too ready to rise in the breast of a royal youth in spite of the utmost care and vigilance on the part of his tutors. At an early period James discovered symptoms of those vices which afterwards degraded his character, and rendered his administration a source of uneasiness to himself and oppression to his people. Buchanan treated these with a wholesome severity, and accordingly kept the King in great awe\*. It was Young's duty to have avoided every thing which tended, even indirectly, to counteract the influence of such measures ; and provided he had used his endeavours to reconcile the mind of James to the restraints imposed on him by representing them as proceeding from the regard which his preceptor felt for his welfare, the superior mildness of his own manners might have proved highly beneficial. But he was in the prime of life ; he had the prospect of a family ; he saw the advantages to be derived from ingratiating himself with the young king ; and with a cool and calculating prudence, which men of ordi-

\* Irving's *Memoirs of Buchanan*, p. 159. D'Israeli's *Inquiry into the Character of James I.* p. 61.

nary minds often possess in a high degree, he pursued the course which tended to advance his worldly interests, by flattering the vanity of his pupil, humouring his follies, and conniving at those faults which he ought to have corrected \*. The consequences were such as might have been expected. The youthful vices of James were confirmed; Buchanan incurred the rooted aversion of his pupil; and Young had his reward in the honours and gifts that were lavished on himself and his family †.

At the most critical period of his life James fell into the hands of Lennox and Arran. The great object of those by whom he was now surrounded, was to eradicate any good principles which his instructors had sown in his mind, and to give him habits opposite to those which they had laboured to

\* Sir James Melvil (Memoirs, p. 125.) has insinuated all that is contained in the text. The charge has been directly brought against Young by Archibald Simson, who had good opportunities of information, as his brother Patrick was minister of Stirling, and lived on an intimate footing with the family of Mar. His words are: "Educatio ejus cura Georgio Buchanano comissa est et Petro Junio, qui impares omnimodo erant; quod ille inter literatos fuit-literatissimus, iste mediocriter elementa vix gustaverit. Sed in hoc differabant: Buchanani animi candore juvenis Regis naturam præ sagiens satis acriter monendo compescebat; alter adulando fovebat. Sed quid eruditionis in Rege erat, hoc Georgio Buchanano debebat." (Annales Ecclesiæ Scotiæ, MS. p. 158.)

† See the places in the Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland referred to in the Index under the articles, *Young (Peter,)* and his children. Scaliger has remarked, that princes of some learning dislike men of great learning, and delight only in pedantic pedagogues. "Principes docti oderunt doctissimos homines, ament tantum pedantes magistrulorum." (Scaligerana, Thuana, &c. tom. ii. p. 473.)

form. The greater part of his time was spent in pastime. The conversation to which he was accustomed was profane, loose, and mixed with low buffoonery. Monberneau, a French gentleman who had accompanied Lennox to Scotland, and who was equally distinguished by his facetious talents and his licentious manners, was the manager of these scenes, and accompanied the King wherever he went\*. The odious and abandoned Arran initiated him into youthful debauchery, and with the view of inflaming his passions, scrupled not to trample on those ties which natural affection and a sense of honour have induced the most profligate to respect†. At the same time, the doctrine of absolute power, so flattering and grateful to princes, was poured into his ear. His mind was filled with prejudices against those who had preserved his life and crown during his minority. He was told, that all that had been done during that period, and ever since the Reformation, was obnoxious to the charge of faction and usurpation and rebellion. And he was taught, that the only way to legitimate his authority, and procure the acknowledgment of it by foreign princes, was either to admit his mother to a share with him in the government, or else by renouncing his crown, to receive it again with her voluntary consent and parental benediction. Strong prejudi-

\* Strype's Annals of the Reformation, ii. 622. Melville's Diary, pp. 59, 60. See also the facts and authorities stated in Note V.

† Cald. MS. apud Adamson's Muse's Threnodie, vol. ii. p. 86. Perth, 1774.

ces were instilled into his mind against the government and ministers of the church. The former was represented as utterly irreconcilable with a pure and absolute monarchy. And if the latter were suffered to retain their liberties, he was taught to believe that he would be liable to be continually checked and controlled in the execution of his will \*. Historians have dwelt on the arbitrary administration of the favourites ; but pernicious as this was, it appears harmless when compared with their malignant and too successful efforts to poison the principles and corrupt the morals of the prince who had unhappily fallen under their influence. To the impressions which he received at this time we must trace, as their principal cause, the troubles which distracted his administration in Scotland, as well as his arbitrary and disreputable reign in England, which prepared the revolution by which his successor was overwhelmed, and led to the ultimate expulsion of the Stuarts from the throne of their ancestors.

When the banished lords returned from England, James was in the twentieth year of his age ; and as he early arrived at maturity, his character had already unfolded itself, and his capacity appeared to greater advantage, and perhaps was really greater,

\* Melville's Diary, p. 89. " At that time it was a pitie to sie as weill a brought vp prince, till his bernhead was past, to be sa miserable corrupted in the entress of his springall age ; baith with sinistrous and fals information of all proceidings in his minoritie, and with euill and maist dangerous grundes and principalles in government of kirk and common welth," &c.

than at any future period of his life \*. He possessed a natural quickness of apprehension and fluency of speech, which had an imposing effect, and impressed strangers with an idea of his talents which subsequent acquaintance invariably tended to diminish. He was not deficient in learning, but his knowledge was of that kind which is often attained by persons of high rank but slender intellect, who have received a good education. The soil being thin but well improved, the abundance of the first crops excited hopes which were not afterwards gratified. The taste which he had contracted for study, and which to a vigorous and sound mind would have afforded an innocent and agreeable relaxation, only served to minister to his vanity, and to create a feverish thirst for literary fame which nothing but courtly adulation could gratify. His studies never interfered with his amusements ; but they diverted him from the duties of his office, and confirmed and aggravated the errors of his administration. When he should have been learning the art of government he was serving an apprenticeship to the muses ; and while his ministers were perverting all the principles of justice, and grinding the faces of his sub-

\* " Encore (says the French ambassador in a letter to the Marquis de Sillery, October 31, 1606.) qu'un Gentilhomme d'honneur m'ait dit, que tous ceux de cette maison promettent merveille jusqu'à l'âge de 20 ans, mais que de-la en avant ils diminuent bien ; m'alléguant à ce propos l'exemple du Roi présent." He adds, speaking of Prince Henry : " Toutefois ce qui fait contre cela, c'est que celui-ci tient beaucoup de sa mère." (Ambassades de M. de la Boderie, tom. i. p. 402.)

jects with oppression, he was busied in composing and publishing "rules and cautelis for Scottish poesy \*." Having little mind of his own, he was moulded by those who were near him, and whom vanity or affection induced him to imitate. Hence

\* James's first publication, which made its appearance during the reign of Arran, is entitled, "The Essayes of a Prentise in the Divine art of Poesie. Imprinted at Edinburgh, by Thomas Vautroullier, 1584. Cum Privilegio Regali." Small 4to. P in fours. It consisted of sonnets and other poems, partly original and partly translated; and of "Ane schort treatise conteining some revlis & cautelis to be obseruit & eschewit in Scottis Poesie." This last is in prose. The "Metaphoricall invention of a Tragedie called Phoenix" was intended to commemorate his late favourite, the Duke of Lennox. The paraphrase of a part of Lucan was evidently chosen to convey James's high notions of royal power, and to reflect on his nobility who were then living in England. Having said that all the rivers are supplied from the ocean, which could suffer no diminution by their conspiring to withhold their waters, he goes on to say:

So even sichlike : Though subjects do conjure  
For to rebell against their prince and king :  
By leuning him, although they hope to smure  
That grace wherewith God maks him for to ring,  
Though by his gifts he shew himself bening  
To help their need and make them thereby gaine,  
Yet lacke of them no harm to him doth bring,  
When they to rue their folie shall be fain.

The best way of making the royal pedant to "rue his folly" would have been to have left him to live by his sonnets, in which case he would soon have felt that dependence from which many better poets have not been able to save themselves.—James Carmichael, in a letter written from London to the Earl of Angus, Feb. 27, 1585, mentions that "the King's *Poesies*" had just arrived, and "some sentences and verses are not well liked of, as he being a king of great expectation, to whom his birth-right hath destinat and provided great kingdoms. And the verses which are a commentarie to the prose, *Quo duce,*" &c. (Cald. ii. p. 745.)

than at any future period of his life. He possessed a natural quickness of apprehension, combined with a fluency of speech, which had an impressive effect on the minds of those who conversed with him. He pressed strangers with an interest which was not diminished by subsequent acquaintance. He was not deficient in knowledge of the principles of high politics, which were mixed with the most unprincipled of absolute authority. He had received a liberal education, but his mind was not so well informed as that of the latter, who drank in from the crops excited by the sun and the base companions whom he surrounded. The despotic power of James thought he could defeat its reasonableness, and was not satisfied only that he could produce the same conviction in the minds of others. He employed both the sceptre and the pen in its defence, and those who ventured to oppose his measures, had to encounter the dogmatism of the disputant as well as the wrath of the despot.

Poetry, politics, and divinity, were the three subjects on which his Majesty was fond of displaying his talents. The poets were more disposed to pay their court to him than to contest his merits; there were few politicians at that time who were so bold as to lay down rules to kings, or to question the wisdom of their actions; so that the chief opposition which James met with was from divines, who wanted taste to perceive or politeness to applaud the beauties of his sonnets, insinuated their doubts of the political aphorisms which he gave out, and

tradicted his theological dogmas. James, vary, plumed himself greatly on his skill and verily thought that he could settle question, or make a commentary, or better than all the divines of his kingdom. appeared very conspicuously in the late times at Linlithgow. In the same paper in which he disclaimed the right of judging in doctrine, interpretation of Scripture, or heresies, he dogmatized, and interpreted, and created heresies, with the utmost freedom and confidence. And he concluded with throwing down the gauntlet to the whole clerical corps : " Whatsoever I have affirmed, I will offer me to prove by the word of God, purest ancients, and modern neotericks, and by the example of the best reformed kirks." He gave another display of his passion for polemics soon after the dissolution of the Parliament. Having gone to Edinburgh, he attended worship in the High Church. Balcanquhall, in the course of his sermon, advanced something which was derogatory to the authority of bishops ; upon which James rose from his seat, and, interrupting the preacher, asked him what Scripture he had for that assertion. Balcanquhall said he could bring sufficient proof from Scripture for all that he had asserted. The King denied this, and pledged his kingdom that he would prove the contrary ; adding, " I know it is the practice of you preachers to busy yourselves about such causes in the pulpit, but I am aware of your intentions and will look after you." This interlude continued upwards of a



than at any future period of his life. He possessed a natural quickness of apprehension, and a combined force of speech, which had an impressive effect on those he pressed strangers with an impression which was discredited by subsequent acquaintance. He was not deficient in knowledge of the principles of absolute authority, which were mixed with the most un- by persons of high principles of absolute authority. He had received a thin but well informed mind by the latter he drank in from crops excited. The power of absolute authority was around him. Other princes were in love and whi despotic power: James thought he could de- have r its reasonableness, and was not satisfied only a he could produce the same conviction in the a of others. He employed both the sceptre and the pen in its defence, and those who ventured to oppose his measures, had to encounter the dogma- tism of the disputant as well as the wrath of the despot.

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cowardice; but, at least, he discovered no lack of courage or keenness in fighting for his civil supremacy against popish priests, and for his ecclesiastical supremacy against presbyterian parsons\*.

The conduct of the nobility, in referring the ministers to the King for an answer to their petitions, instead of transacting the business themselves, produced another evil beside that of fostering the unhappy disposition which James had contracted for controversy. In their censures of public measures, the preachers had hitherto said nothing which implied a reflection upon the King personally, but had uniformly imputed the faults which they condemned and the grievances of which they complained, to the advice and influence of his counsellors. What had taken place at Linlithgow, joined to the galling disappointment which they had met with, drove some of them to a different course. In particular, James Gibson, minister of Pencaitland, in a sermon which he preached in Edinburgh, made use of the following indiscreet language: "I thought that Captain James Stewart, Lady Jesabel his wife, and William Stewart, had persecuted the church, but now I have

brother, in whose answer they had found solid judgment and great light to the praise of god and overthrow of the enemies." (Bulk of the Universall Kirk, f. 152, a.)

\* In the language of his ancestor,

"He turned and gave them baith their paikis,  
For he durst ding na udir,

Men said."

than at any future period of his life. His natural quickness of apprehension of his ed a natural quickness of apprehension, which had an impressive onery ; those of speech, which had an impressive onery ; those pressed strangers with an impressive onery ; those subsequent acquaintance ; blasphemy ; and nish. He was not deficient in which were mixed knowledge was of the things with the most un- by persons of high principles of absolute au- have received a were instilled into his mind by thin but well informed : the latter he drank in from crops excited tified. The courtesans and the base companions whom and whi despotic power : James thought he could de- have despotic power : James thought he could de- only its reasonableness, and was not satisfied a he could produce the same conviction in the minds of others. He employed both the sceptre and the pen in its defence, and those who ventured to oppose his measures, had to encounter the dogmatism of the disputant as well as the wrath of the despot.

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ployment. The plague had dispersed the students, and the New College had been completely disorganized during his absence. When James Melville fled into England, Adamson assumed the superintendence of its affairs. At first he attempted to ingratiate himself with the young men by professions of great respect for their Principal; but not succeeding in this he altered his course. He questioned them in private on the lectures which they had been accustomed to hear, and the doctrine which they had been taught on particular topics; and the information which he acquired in this clandestine way he used to inflame his Majesty against Melville\*. The supremacy of kings and the pre-eminence of bishops formed the leading features of his own discourses from the chair and the pulpit; a mode of teaching which was extremely acceptable to the King and his courtiers: For, though rulers have often complained loudly of clergymen for introducing affairs of state into their sermons, they have never had any objection to the practice when it was employed to exalt the prerogative or to eulogize their own administration. But the students, who were not altogether strangers to such controversies, and more-

\* Discoursing one day on this subject, he exclaimed, "By the Lord God, Sir," (for the bishop did not scruple to encourage his Majesty in his habit of profane swearing,) "had that enemy to lawful authority remained another half year, he had pulled the crown off your head by his seditious doctrine: For he taught that kings should come by election, as the multitude pleased to put them up or down." (Cald. iii. 530.)

over had not the greatest confidence in the bishop's honesty, examined the quotations which he made, and the authorities to which he referred in support of his opinions, and triumphantly exposed such infidelities and inaccuracies as they detected \*. Other arts of annoyance, such as young men are extremely apt to use against those who have incurred their dislike, were employed by them †; so that Adamson was glad to give up his prelections, and to avail himself of an order of court to leave St. Andrews, and supply the place of the ministers who had forsaken the capital ‡. Irritated by the opposition he had met with, and averse to the system of theological instruction, he procured a warrant to convert the college into a school of philosophy, to invest Robertson, who had become subservient to his purposes, with the office of Principal, and to make such other arrangements in it as he should think proper §.

During the early part of the year 1586, James Melville was employed before the Privy Council and Court of Session in getting these deeds reduced, and

\* Cald. iii. 530.

† Davison to Walsingham, Cotton MSS. Calig. C. vii. 78.

‡ Adamson felt himself exposed to similar affronts at Edinburgh. The council ordered a proclamation, "that nane mak prouocation to the archiebishop of Sanctand." He had been called over "to use the pastoral office within the said burgh," and certain of the inhabitants had employed "their wives and bairns" to insult him in various ways, pretending ignorance, &c. (Record of Privy Council, Sept. 26, 1584.)

§ See Note AA.

in taking such other steps as were necessary to restore the college to its former state \*. His uncle, in the mean time, took up his residence at Glasgow with his old friend the Rector, who had requested his assistance in reorganizing the university in that city. Hay and the other patrons of the institution urged him to remain with them, and to resume his former situation, which, owing to the public confusions, had continued vacant since the death of Smeton †. The most handsome and liberal offers were made to induce him to comply with this request. But though he retained a great affection for that college, which he used to call his *eldest bairn*, and though he was sensible that he had the prospect of enjoying far more personal comfort there than in any other place, yet such were his convictions of the national utility of the new college of St. Andrews, as a theological and literary establishment, that he could not think of deserting it, and determined to force himself a second time from Glasgow, against his own inclination and the solicitations of his best friends ‡. He accordingly returned to St. Andrews in the month of March, and recommenced his lectures after an intermission of two years §.

\* Melville's Diary, p. 180.

† On the 10th of January, 1585, (*i. e.* 1586, according to modern computation,) Mr. Patrick Sharp was nominated and presented to the place of Principal of the College of Glasgow, vacant by the decease of Mr. Thomas Smeton. (Register of Presentation to Benefices, &c. vol. ii. f. 140.)

‡ Melvini Epistolæ, pp. 70, 71.

§ Melville's Diary, p. 180.

Next to Arran, no individual in the nation was so universally disliked as Archbishop Adamson. He had been the chief adviser of the laws which overturned the ecclesiastical discipline. He had lent all the influence of his clerical character and episcopal power to the support of the late detested administration; and he had employed his pen in arraiging the exiled noblemen and ministers as traitors, traducing their characters before the world, and attempting to drive them from the asylum which they had found in England. His disgrace ought to have accompanied the fall of the administration with which he had chosen to connect his fortunes. It does not appear that the King ever felt for Adamson that personal favour which he still retained for Arran\*; but having resolved to maintain episcopacy, he judged it necessary to protect the individual who was its ablest and most devoted champion.

James Melville preached at the opening of the provincial synod of Fife which met at St. Andrews in April 1586. In the course of his sermon, the

\* The continuance of James's attachment to that worthless favourite after his removal from court, is mentioned by H. Widdryngton in a letter to Secretary Walsingham, dated Jan. 7, 1585-6. (Cotton MSS. Calig. C. viii. 237.) And by the French ambassador in a letter to D'Esneval, Oct. 31, 1586. (Extract of the *Dispatches of Courcelles*.) It appears also from the circumstance of his not filling up the office of Chancellor, on the flight of Arran, but committing the discharge of its duties to Secretary Maitland, as Vice-Chancellor, which seems to have been an office created for the occasion. (Crawford's *Officers of State*, pp. 140, 143, 146.)

preacher turned to the archbishop, who was sitting with great dignity in the assembly, and charged him with overthrowing, in violation of his promises, the scriptural government and discipline of the church of Scotland ; and then, addressing himself to the members of the synod, exhorted them to act the part of bold chirurgeons by cutting off such a corrupt member. Adamson complained of this injury ; but the synod instantly converted the admonitions of the preacher into formal charges, and put the bishop on his trial. He at first refused to answer, and asserted that it was his prerogative to judge the synod instead of their sitting in judgment upon his conduct. But after being repeatedly summoned, he attended, and gave in objections to their procedure, accompanied with answers to the charges brought against him. To the charge of having assumed the exercise of an unlawful office, he replied that he was ready to maintain the lawfulness of episcopacy before the General Assembly ; and he defended his conduct in overthrowing the presbyteries, by pleading the acts of Parliament, which he dared the synod to impeach. He objected, among other things \*,

\* The bishop objected to ruling elders and professors of universities, who had not received imposition of hands, having a voice in the synod ; and in particular to Robert Wilkie, who was chosen moderator. In his answer to the bishop's reasons of appeal, James Melville says : " He distinguishes the clergy from the laicks. This smelleth of the pride of papistry and arrogancy of the shavelings.—Mr. Robert Wilkie was appointed by the act of the reformation of the colleges to teach theology, and to expone the Scriptures, as Origen in *Alexandrina Ecclesia*, being but *Ludimagister*, and yet approved by the best



that the two Melvilles, and the Master of Lindsay, as his declared enemies, ought not to be permitted to sit as judges in his cause; but the synod allowed them to retain their seats after they had cleared themselves of malice in the usual way. On this ground Adamson protested and appealed to the General Assembly. Notwithstanding this, the synod proceeded with the cause, found Adamson guilty, and ordered him to be excommunicated, which was immediately done at their appointment by Andrew Hunter, minister of Carnbee. As soon as the synod was dissolved, the archbishop drew up an excommunication of Melville and some other ministers, which he caused to be read in the church by one of his servants; and then addressed a complaint and appeal to the King, the Privy Council, and the Estates\*.

bishops of Palestina before whom he taught in divinity. Mr. Robert Wilkie had been upon the exercise sixteen years before, and at the first erection of the presbyterie of St. Andrews be common vote of the brethren elected and ordained an elder of the samen, and hath from that time still laboured in the word and doctrine." (Cald. iii. 869.) Wilkie was at this time a professor in St. Leonard's College, and in the month of June following was elected minister and pastor of the congregation of St. Andrews. (Record of Kirk Session, penult. Junii, 1586.)

\* Cald. iii. 858—865. Melville's Diary, pp. 180—182. Spots. 345, 346. "April 26, 1586, Bishop of St. And<sup>e</sup> excommunication, qlk was acted in fyff, to be intimat and registrat." (Abstract of Records of Presbytery of Edinburgh. Wodrow, MSS. Advoc. Lib. vol. xxi. 4to.) Adamson himself appears to say that the sentence against him was intimated through the kingdom. (Epist. ad Jac. Reg. ante Paraph. Jobi.)

Without denying that Adamson merited the censure inflicted on him, I cannot help thinking that the procedure of the synod was precipitant and irregular. The manner in which James Melville introduced the affair was certainly a material prejudging of the cause; and there is reason to think that his uncle was not a stranger beforehand to his intentions. At any rate, both had suffered severely from the bishop; and although this does not prove that they had conceived malice against him, and might not have warranted the synod to exclude them judicially from a voice in the trial, yet their voluntarily declining to act as judges would have given to the process an appearance of greater decorum and impartiality. In fine, to gain in any due measure the end proposed, it was fit that the sentence should have had higher authority than that of a provincial synod, and that the cause should have been referred to the General Assembly, especially as the bishop had appealed to that judicature. But the truth seems to be, that the minsters were afraid that the ensuing meeting of Assembly would be overawed by the King, who had summoned it and in whose presence it was to be held. It is probable, too, that the general odium under which Adamson lay at this time among the principal gentlemen of Fife, pushed on the synod to the adoption of such hasty and decisive measures\*.

\* "The bishop is marvileuslie hated of all the protestants, his life very alanderous and shamfull that its feared that yf the k. stand in

It has been said, that "the personal emulation between Melville and Adamson mingled with the disputes of the church, and heightened them." I confess I have not met with any thing, either in the conduct of Melville or of the bishop, which directly warrants this conclusion. But it is not unreasonable to suppose that personal offences had arisen from their having been so often opposed to one another on public questions, and that their mutual alienation was greatly increased by what happened during Melville's banishment. If we are to believe Adamson, the Melvilles, not contented with directing the highest censures of the church against him, were concerned in a conspiracy against his life\*. He

his defence, as hitherto he doth, that that will alienate many men's hearts or make them judge hardly of him. Full resolution was taken by all the gentlemen of the shire and the borough townes about them to stand with their ministers and other that have dealt in this cause against the Bishop.—At a word I never harde man worse spoken of. There is a legend written of his life, the nearest to that of the abbot of Clunye that was written of the death of the Cardinall of Lorraine, that may be." (Randolph to Walsingham, April 22, 1586. Cotton MSS. Calig. C. ix. iii.)

The following notice appears to be taken from a diary written at the time: "Upon the 16 of Aprile, Patrick, archbishop of Sanct Andrews, was stricken be the Master of Lindsay and Thomas Scott of Abbotshall, and was excommunicated be the ministers. Whereupon both the strickers & excommunicaters were summoned." (Cald. iii. 873.)

\* To this the bishop refers in the following rhetorical passage, quoted by his biographer: "Adjuro te, Melvine, per bifurcatâ tuam frontem, per tumentes venas, per ardentes oculos, &c. quo die *Barri-montium* conscendisti; Quæ tua mens? quis ille animus? quis ardor oculi? quæ tuæ nefariæ atque impiæ conjurationes cû sceleratis tuis & perditis latronibus undiquaq. coactis, & in scelus omne propensâ,

wrote to the King, that James Melville had travelled through the country to excite the gentlemen against him, and that his uncle had convened them in the college, and instigated them by a violent harangue to assault his person. James Melville, on the other hand, informs us, that, at the time referred to, he was confined to his bed with a fever; and he gives the following account of what relates to his uncle. The bishop, to testify his contempt for the sentence of the synod, determined to preach in the parish church on the Sabbath after it was pronounced. Such of the people as scrupled to hear an excommunicated person repaired to public worship in the New College. It happened that the laird of Lundie had come to St. Andrews on business, and he went also to hear Melville, accompanied by his friends and retinue. An individual who observed the crowd thronging into the college, told Adamson, as he was entering the parish church, that a number of gentlemen were assembled from all parts of the country, and intended to take him out of the pulpit and hang him. The bishop, whose courage was not equal to his ambition, was struck with a sudden panic, collected his servants around him, and not thinking himself safe in the church took refuge

in caput nostrum conjurantibus? Ecce duo gladii hic, unus ad excommunicandum, alter ad interficiendum." (Tho. Volusenus, Vita Patricii Adamsoni, p. 6.)

By *Barrimontium* we are probably to understand *Balrymont*, a place in the neighbourhood of St. Andrews, where, it was alleged, the conspiracy against the bishop was formed.

in the belfry, from which the magistrates with great difficulty persuaded him to descend, by promising to escort him home in safety, and assuring him that there was not the slightest appearance of tumult in the city\*.

When Adamson's cause came before the General Assembly, which met at Edinburgh on the 10th of May†, it was agreed to wave the formal consideration both of the sentence of the Synod of Fife, and of the appeal from it, and to remove the excommunication, upon condition that the bishop subscribed a form of submission which was prescribed to him. By this deed he disclaimed all supremacy over the synod, and all right to judge other pastors or ministers, and declared, that if he had claimed this power, he had done wrong, and craved pardon for his oversight and imperious behaviour; and he promised to conduct himself for the future as a moderate pastor, and to submit his life and doctrine to the trial and censure of the General Assembly, without appealing in any way from its determinations. This declaration having been

\* Adamson, *De Pastoris Munere*, pp. 68, 69, et *Vita ejus* adj. p. 6. Lond. 1619, 12mo. Melville's Diary, p. 182.

† This meeting of the General Assembly was called by a royal proclamation, which declared that the members should incur no danger, "notwithstanding any laws &c. maid in the contrair." (Record of Privy Council, April 5, 1586.) Before proceeding to choose their moderator, the members received a message to come down to the Royal Chapel, with which they complied after protesting that this should not prejudice their liberties. James having taken his place at the head of a table around which the members were seated, entertained them with a harangue, and then dismissed them to their ordinary house. (Cald. iii. 881.)

subscribed by Adamson, the Assembly, "to give testimony with what good will they would obey his highness so far as they might and ought," declared, that, without judging of the appeal or condemning the synod, "they held the said process and sentence as unled, undeduced, or unpronounced, and restored the said bishop to the state he was in immediately before, provided always he observed his promises and behaved himself dutifully\*." Archbishop Spotswood expresses his surprise that Adamson should have submitted to terms so derogatory to his episcopal authority; and he insinuates that the King temporized with the church, in the hopes that he would be able at a future period to restore the bishops to their legitimate power. The conduct of James gives too much ground for suspecting him of such views. But so far were the court from thinking that they had pledged themselves too far, that they regarded what they had accomplished as a victory; and the act of Assembly restoring Adamson, in which his submission was embodied, was triumphantly proclaimed at the market-cross of Edinburgh by sound of trumpet †.

\* Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 141. Cald. 899, 900. Against this decision Hunter, who had pronounced the sentence of excommunication, protested. Spotswood represents Melville and Thomas Buchanan as adhering to Hunter's protest. (Hist. p. 347.) This is a mistake. The fact is correctly stated, from the minutes, in Printed Calderwood, pp. 210, 211. The bishop, in his history, passes over one circumstance which he could scarcely have forgotten, viz. that in the list of those who opposed the absolution of Adamson, is the name of *John Spotswood*. (Cald. iii. 916.)

† Melville's Diary, p. 183.

In the month of February preceding, the King had called together certain ministers, whom he judged more moderate than the rest, to confer with a deputation from the Privy Council on the subject of the ecclesiastical polity. Their consent was obtained to a species of episcopacy, although of a very limited kind. The result of this conference was now laid before the General Assembly, and all the influence of the court was employed to procure its ratification \*. The King's commissioners protested that if it was not simply adopted, his Majesty would retract the concessions which he had made, and leave the late acts of Parliament to be carried into execution. Notwithstanding this threat, the assembly entered upon the examination of the articles laid before them. They declared that bishops were not superior to other pastors ; and being asked, if they would not allow them a pre-eminence in respect of order, though not of jurisdiction, they answered, that " it could not stand with the word of God, only they must tolerate it in case it be forced upon them." After several conferences with the court, it was at last agreed, that until presbyteries were better constituted, and the General Assembly should take further order in the matter, bishops should admit ministers with the consent of the majority of the members of the presbytery or of assessors to be given them ; that they should preside

\* It appears from Cotton MSS. Calig. C. ix. 60, and Cald. iii. 855, 857, that the resolutions of this conference are correctly given in the Printed Calderwood, pp. 197, 199.

in the presbyteries within which they officiated \*; and be subject to be tried and censured by the General Assembly only, or by commissioners whom it should appoint for that purpose. At the same time presbyteries were ordered to be re-established, and some of the leading articles in the Second Book of Discipline, concerning ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and the powers of general, provincial, presbyterial, and sessional assemblies, were agreed to with the consent of his Majesty †. Upon the whole, though the proceedings of this assembly were somewhat at variance with former acts of the church, yet the approbation given to them by the court unquestionably paved the way for the downfall of the bishops, and the establishment of presbytery.

Melville was employed by this assembly to write in their name to the French Protestant ministers, who had obtained his Majesty's license to reside in Scotland during the persecution which raged in their native country, and to assure them that the assem-

\* Robert Wilkie, however, was appointed Moderator of the Presbytery of St. Andrews instead of Bishop Adamson.

† Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 143. Harl. MSS. num. 7004, 6. Cald. iii. 902—905. Spotswood says, "In the mean time was the order of presbyteries set down, and their power defined, *the King taking no notice of their doings in that kind.*" (Hist. p. 348.) So far was this from being the case, that the platform of presbyteries entered into the register of this assembly is expressly said to have been "presentit be my Lord Clerk of Register, and sett downe be his Lordship's travells." And with respect to their power, the commissioners deputed to wait on the King, reported that "in the hail heads fund, little difficulty except [a little difficulty excepted, *Cald.*] quhilk is noted with his Ma. hand, his Grace aggried." (Buik of Univ. Kirk, ff. 143, a. 144, a.)



bly would do every thing in their power to render their exile agreeable. The letter was delivered to Monsieur du Moulin, who had already arrived and remained for some years in Scotland \*.

The relaxation of Adamson from ecclesiastical censure was followed by Melville's being laid under civil restraint. That the archbishop might return to St. Andrews with suitable éclat, and recover his lost reputation, it was judged necessary that his rival should be removed for some time with as little noise as possible. On the dissolution of the General Assembly, Melville was sent for to the palace, and after being graciously received and allowed to kiss the King's hand, was told that his services in the university would be dispensed with for a season, and he might spend his time in his native place until his Majesty was pleased to recall him. Lest he should refuse compliance with this intimation, he was served, on quitting the palace, with a written charge to confine himself beyond the Water of Tay †. The

\* Buik of the Universall Kirk, ff. 140, b. 141, a. Joachim du Moulin, minister of Orleans, and father of the celebrated Pierre du Moulin, minister of Paris, appears to be the individual referred to. The Magistrates of Edinburgh not only allowed the French refugees to meet for worship in the common-hall of the college, but allotted stipends to their ministers. (Reg. of Town Council, May 11, 1586.) Collections for them and their brethren in England were made in the different parishes. (Rec. of Kirk Session of St. And. Dec. 20. 1587; and Extracts from Records of Kirk Session of Glasgow, May 23, 1588: in Wodrow's Life of David Weemes, p. 26.)—"Also the said James (Lamb) delyverit the warrand from the Synodall for the ingaddering of the support to Mr Mwling banest out of France." (Record of Presbytery of Haddington, Oct. 18, 1589.)

† See Note BB.

bishop was appointed, besides preaching, to read a Latin lecture in St. Salvador's College, which all the members of the university were enjoined to grace with their presence. In consequence of this the principal duties of the New College were a second time devolved on James Melville. The University sent a deputation to the King, consisting of the Dean of Faculty and a Professor from each college, to solicit Melville's restoration, as a measure necessary to the prosperity of the academy and conducive to the honour of his Majesty and the nation. James testified his willingness to gratify them, provided the bishop was treated with due respect. But although all the security for this that could be required was given, the answer of the request was delayed; and Melville owed his liberty at last to that secret influence which is often exerted by the meanest persons about weak and arbitrary princes. The King spent the summer at Falkland in his favourite employment of hunting and hawking. He sent several times for James Melville, who was surprised to find that his Majesty, after conversing with him on ordinary topics, always left him in company with the master of his hawks. It turned out that this important personage had a friend who was a tenant of the New College, and who wished to have his lease renewed at a low rent; and James Melville was given to understand that, provided this boon was granted, his uncle would immediately be set at liberty. The professors were extremely averse to injure the revenues of the college to gratify such a

minion; but there was no remedy, and the King having pledged his word that he would compensate the loss doubly \*, the lease was subscribed and put into the hands of the hawk-master. Upon this, orders were issued for the liberation of Melville, who, coming to Falkland, was introduced by the Master of Gray, and after a free conversation with his Majesty, was restored to favour and sent home to his college †.

Melville resumed his academical labours, which had been so long interrupted, with fresh ardour, and the consequence was, that the bishop's prelections fell into disesteem and neglect. Adamson was still more mortified by the desertion of his pulpit-discourses, in consequence of numbers leaving the parish church when he officiated, and attending sermon in the chapel of the Theological College. To prevent this he had recourse to a measure which was a sure proof of his declining fame. A mandate came from court, prohibiting the masters of the New College from preaching in English, and ordering them to confine their instructions on Sabbath as well as on other days to the Latin tongue ‡.

Great occasion has been taken to asperse the Church of Scotland from the circumstance of some

\* A gift of certain prebendaries, &c. to the New College of St. Andrews passed the Great Seal, on the last day of January 1586. It was confirmed in the subsequent Parliament. (Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 488.)

† Melville's Diary, pp. 183—185.

‡ See Note BB.

of her ministers having refused to obey the King's order to pray for his mother, when she was under sentence of death. They might be too squeamish ; but had James been less imperious, and more mindful of his disclaimer of all interference with the immediate acts of worship, he might have obtained ample satisfaction on this head. Instead of this, an act of council was made prescribing the form of prayer ; all ministers were charged by public proclamation to use it on pain of incurring his Majesty's displeasure ; and commissioners and superintendents were commanded to suspend from preaching such as refused \*. None of the ministers refused to pray for the Queen. The scruples of those who hesitated to comply with the order of the court rested upon the manner in which it was issued, and its implying, in their opinion, that Mary was innocent of the crime for which she was condemned to die †. They had not been

\* Record of Privy Council, Feb. 1, 1586.

† Cald. iv. 9. The only recusant specified by Spotswood (Hist. p. 354.) is Mr. John Cowper, "a young man not entered as yet in the function." It is evident, from his narrative of that case, that the archbishop had the Record of Privy Council before him. But he has introduced circumstances not warranted by that record, and which, if true, it would scarcely have failed to mention. It says nothing of the King's giving the preacher liberty to proceed with the service provided he would obey the charge and remember the Queen in his prayers ; nor of Cowper's replying, that he would do as the Spirit of God should direct him. Cowper was not imprisoned for refusing or declining to pray for the Queen, but (as the minute expresses it) "because his Matie desyrit him to stay efter he had begwn his prayer in the pulpit within sanct geills kirk in Edinburgh, declaring that thair was ane vther appoyntit to occupy that rewme, that he vtterit thir words following, thay ar to say, That this day suld bere witnes aganis

accustomed, like the English clergy, to pray by book, or to frame their addresses to the Almighty in words which courtiers might be pleased to dictate to them, or to offer them up, like criminals at the foot of the gallows, under the terrors of suspension. They had long entertained an unfavourable opinion of Mary; they had at different times been alarmed for the security of their religion by plans laid for her restoration; and many of them were convinced of her accession to the conspiracy of Babington against Elizabeth. But the truth is, that few if any of them refused to pray for the preservation of her life\*. The order for this was not made known to the ministers of St. Andrews until the very day of her execution, and it was immediately complied with†. But the worst feature in

his Mätie in the grett day of the Lord;" and because he denounced a woe against the inhabitants of Edinburgh. (Record of Privy Council, Feb. 3, 1586.)

\* Spotswood says, "Of all the number, Mr. David Lyndesay at Leith and the King's own ministers gave obedience. (Hist. p. 354.) The native inference from this is that Spotswood himself did not "give obedience;" for he was then one of "the number." But Courcelles, the French ambassador, who was in Scotland and took a particular interest in the affair, informs us, that even those who at first refused, yielded. (Letter to Henry III. Feb. 28, 1587.)

† "Die mercurii viii. fe<sup>rii</sup> anno lxxx. sexto. The quhilk day comperit M. Patrick Adamsoun, bishop of St And<sup>e</sup> allegeand him to haif an verbal direction of the Kingis maiestie to desyre the minister and redar to pray publiclie for his hienes mother for hir conversioun and amendment of lyfe, and if it be godis plesor to preserve hir from this present danger quhairin sche is now, that sche may heir efter be ane profitabill member in chrystis kirk. The session presentlie assemblit being sufficientlie resolut heirwith hes concludit that the minister at ilk sermone and the redar at ilk time quhen he sayis prayers, pray

the affair is, that there is reason to suspect that James wished the ministers to act a part in the solemn farce along with himself and Elizabeth. While he was issuing orders to offer up prayers for his mother's preservation, and summoning, imprisoning, and silencing ministers for alleged disobedience to these \*, strong presumptions are not wanting, that his grief for her fate, and his indignation at Elizabeth's conduct, were in a great degree affected and hypocritical †. It is certain, at least, that they were neither deep nor lasting. One proof of this, among many others, may be mentioned. Soon after the execution of Mary, Melville happened to be introduced to his Majesty. James appeared to be in great spirits; laughed, and frisked, and danced about the room, in the boyish manner which he retained long after he came to man's years. The contrast between this levity and the sable attire of the company and apartment struck Melville's fancy, and brought to his recollection the way in which Mary was said to have mourned for the murder of her husband. He expressed his feelings, in an *impromptu*, to a gentleman of his acquaintance who stood

publiclie for the kingis g. mother as is desyrit." (Record of Kirk Session of St. Andrews.)

\* The two ministers of Aberdeen were brought twice all the way to Edinburgh, on a charge of disobeying the King's order. When they appeared before the Privy Council, it turned out that they were innocent; but, to save James's honour, one of them was obliged to make a declaration from the pulpit, on his return. (Record of Privy Council, March 25, and May 19, 1587.)

† See Note CC.

beside him. The King seeing them smile, came forward and eagerly inquired the cause of their mirth. The gentleman excused himself by saying, that it was merely a sally of the Principal's humour which had extorted a smile from him. His Majesty then applied to Melville, who felt averse to gratify the royal curiosity; but James, insisting on his demand, and promising not to resent any freedom that might have been used, he repeated the lines :

Quid sibi vult tantus lugubri sub veste cahinnus ?  
Scilicet hic matrem deflet, ut illa patrem \*.

In the course of this year, Guillaume de Salluste, Sieur du Bartas, the celebrated French Poet, visited Scotland. The King, in a work lately published by him, had given a translation of the *Uranie* of Du Bartas, whom he had invited to his dominions, with the view of engaging him to return the compliment by translating his Majesty's *Scottish poesie* into the French language †. Henry IV. then

\* Wodrow's Life of Andrew Melville, p. 52. MSS. vol. i.—Two copies of verses on Queen Mary, by Melville, are inserted in *Jonstoni Inscriptiones Historicæ Regvm Scotorvm*, p. 58. Amstel. 1602. The following lines, which he composed on her execution, have not been printed.

Si Scotam Angla ferit, Mariam si mactat Eliza,  
Reginam Regina necat, cognata propinquam ;  
Ecquid agas Mariæque hæres, hæres et Elizæ ?  
Non abeunt, non adveniunt sine sanguine regna.

Archib. Simsoni Annal. Eccl. Scotie.

MS. p. 47.

† Courcelles's tenth dispatch to the French king, June 24, 1587. (MS. referred to in Note CC.) Du Bartas did translate one of James's

King of Navarre, availed himself of this opportunity to secure the friendship of the King of Scots, by giving the poet a letter of credence to him, and secret instructions to propose a marriage between him and his sister, the Princess of Navarre. A wiser choice of an ambassador could not have been made; for James was flattered by the visit of a man of genius, and felt disposed to concede to his representations what he might have denied to a professional though more dignified negociator\*.

poems into French heroics, and added very grateful encomiums on the "Scots Phoenix:" so he calls him. "La Lèpante de Jaques vi. Roy D'Ecosse, Faicte Française par le Sieur du Bartas. Imprimé a Edinbvrge par Robert Waldegrave, Imprimeur du Roy. Anno Dom. 1591. Avec Priuèlège de sa Majesté." 4to. 14 leaves. It was printed, along with the original, in *His Majesties Poeticall Exercises*.

\* James denied to Courcelles that the king of Navarre had requested military aid. "He (James) will not assist rebellious subjects against their Sovereigne, a thing commendable neither before God nor man, and of evil example to all the world." The Lord of Weimes (he added) "was going with 10 or 12 gentlemen to accompany the king of Navarre in hunting, but to have nothing to do with war." But the ambassador did not feel disposed to place implicit confidence in his Majesty's word, which he had already found reason to suspect. (Courcelles's 11th Dispatch, compared with his 6th.)

"The kinge, besides all his costes which he defraied, gratefyed Dubartas at his departure with a Chaîne of 1000 li. and as much in redie money, made him knight, and accompanied him to the sea side, wher he made him promise to retourn againe." (13th Dispatch, Sept. 28, 1587.) Lord Tunland accompanied him to France, to bring James a report of the Princess of Navarre. (Ibid. and Sir James Melville's Mem. p. 177.) The Princess rejected the match in consequence of her ardent attachment to the Comte de Soissons. (Mémoires de M. du Plessis, tom. i. p. 656. Vie de M. du Plessis, p. 122.)



In the end of June his Majesty accompanied Du Bartas to St. Andrews. On his arrival he came to the New College, and intimated that he would return in the course of an hour, along with his learned French friend, to hear a lecture. Melville had already read his ordinary lecture, and was quite unprepared for entertaining such illustrious auditors; but the King would take no excuse. Accordingly the university was assembled, and Melville delivered an extemporary discourse, which gave satisfaction to all the hearers, except his Majesty, who considered some parts of it as levelled against his favourite notions of church-government. Next day the bishop feasted the King and Du Bartas. Previous to this he pronounced an elaborate discourse, containing the substance of his late lectures in support of prelacy and the ecclesiastical supremacy of princes. Melville attended on the occasion, and was observed to take notes during the delivery of the discourse. When it was over, he sent information to the royal party, and to the members of the university, that he intended to prelect in the afternoon. Suspecting his intention to answer the bishop's oration, James sent one of his attendants to warn him, that if he did not keep within the bounds of moderation, and of the respect due to his presence, he would again lay him under restraint. Melville replied, that he was bound to counteract the effects of poisonous doctrine at the risk of his life, but, so far as was consistent with what he owed to truth, he would be most tender of his Majesty's honour. James sent a

second messenger to say, that he depended on his prudence, and meant to take a repast with him in the college. At the hour appointed, the hall was crowded with auditors, among whom were the King, Du Bartas, and Adamson, who, expecting to be attacked, had obtained liberty from his Majesty to defend himself. Melville took no notice of the discourse which had been delivered in the morning, but quoted from certain popish books, which he brought along with him, the leading positions and arguments which the bishop had advanced; and then, as if he had to do only with Roman Catholics, proceeded to overthrow them "with such inimitable force of reason and flood of eloquence, that the bishop was dashed and stricken as dumb as the stock he sat upon." His Majesty afterwards made a speech in English, interposed some scholastic *distinguos*, and concluded by enjoining the members of the university to respect and obey the bishop. He then partook of an entertainment in the college and retired\*. Du Bartas remained behind to converse with Melville. In the evening James asked his visitor's opinion of the two discourses. Du Bartas said, they were both learned, but the bishop's was prepared for the occasion, whereas the Principal had shewn that he had a vast store of various learning at command; "besides," added he, "he has far

\* "The king with Monsieur du Bartas cam to the collage hall, wher I causit prepear and haif in readiness a banquet of wat and dry confectiones with all sorts of wyne; wherat his Mat<sup>e</sup> camped verie mirrillie a guid whill." (Melville's Diary, p. 188.)

more spirit and courage than the other." In this judgment his Majesty professed to acquiesce\*.

Melville was chosen moderator of the General Assembly held in June 1587, and appointed one of their commissioners to the ensuing meeting of Parliament†. At this Parliament the temporal lands of bishoprics, abbacies, and priories, were annexed to the crown; a measure which paved the way for the abolition of episcopacy‡. It virtually divested the bishops of their right to sit in the national judicature, which was founded on their baronial possessions; and, consequently, removed the principal plea upon which the court had hitherto upheld them in opposition to the unequivocal and decided sentiments of the church. This consideration induced the presbyterian ministers to wink at the alienation of the ecclesiastical property. Nor do the bishops appear to have made any formal opposition to this sweeping statute. Existing solely by the favour of the prince, and dreading the entire suppression of their order, they silently acquiesced in a measure

\* Melville's Diary, pp. 188, 189. Wodrow's Life of Andrew Melville, pp. 52, 53. Adamson's son-in-law says that his discourse before the King and Du Bartas was *extempore*. (Vita Patr. Adamsoni, p. 9.)

† By this assembly "Mr. Andro Mevill was ordainit to pen a favourable wryting to the ministrie in Danskine [Dantzic] congratulating their embracing of the treuth in the matter of the sacrament." (Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 148, b.) They had rejected the Lutheran doctrine of *consubstantiation*. (Bibliotheca Bremensis, Class. vi. p. 1142.)

‡ Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 431—437.

which stripped them of such valuable possessions, and left them exposed to the persevering attacks of their adversaries.

In the beginning of the year 1588, Melville took an active part in arousing the nation to a sense of its danger from the threatened Spanish Armada. James had received timely warning of the hostile intentions of the King of Spain, and of the correspondence which he maintained with Scotland; but he testified no disposition to adopt the precautions necessary to avert the danger which menaced his dominions\*. While Jesuits and seminary priests were seducing his subjects from their allegiance, and preparing them for revolt on the first appearance of a foreign force, he was busy commenting on the Apocalypse, and demonstrating by arguments drawn from that book that the Pope was Antichrist†. So bold was the faction devoted to Spain and Rome, and so great its influence at court, that it obtained a protection for these dangerous emissaries to remain in the country; a liberty which they improved in maturing a plot to banish or massacre the Protestant statesmen‡. In these circumstances, Melville, in virtue of the powers vested in him as moderator, called an extraordinary meeting of the General Assembly. He opened the delibera-

\* Courcelles's Eighth Dispatch to the French king, May 12, 1587.

† Melville's Diary, p. 191.

‡ Cotton MSS. Cal. D. i. 98. Gordon's Hist. of the Earldom of Sutherland, pp. 210—212. Moyse's Mem. pp. 130, 134.

tions with an animated address, in which he acquainted the members with his reasons for convening them. The alarming crisis had drawn an unusual concourse of the subjects to the capital, and all were actuated with the same spirit. It was agreed that the barons, burgesses, and ministers, should meet apart, to consult on the dangers which hung over the church and commonwealth, and on the best means of providing against them. A deputation was appointed to lay the result of their consultations before the King, and to make him an offer of their lives and fortunes. James interpreted this as an interference with his administration, and an implicit censure upon his past conduct; but the deputies having remonstrated with him freely on the dangers of the times, he, after consulting with his advisers, returned them thanks for their zeal, and nominated a committee of Privy Council to meet with them and concert common measures for the public safety. The consequences of this co-operation were of the happiest kind. Among other steps that were taken, a solemn bond of allegiance and mutual defence, approved by his Majesty and zealously promoted by the ministers of the church, was sworn by all ranks. In this they protested that the reformed religion and his Majesty's estate had the same friends and foes, and engaged that they would defend and maintain them against all plots and preparations, foreign or domestic, and particularly against the threatened invasion from Spain; that they would assist in the discovery and apprehension

of Jesuits and other vassals of Rome; that they would assemble at his Majesty's command, and hazard their lives, lands, and goods, in resisting the common enemy; and that they would lay aside all private feuds, and submit every difference that might arise among them in the mean time to the judgment of arbiters to be chosen by the King\*. By these means Scotland was put in a state of defence, and in concert with England waited the result of the formidable preparations of Spain.

James Melville had, some time before this, left the university of St. Andrews, and was now minister of Anstruther, a maritime town on the south-east coast of Fife. Early one morning, when the fate of the Armada was yet unknown in Scotland, one of the bailies of the town appeared at his bedside, and informed him that a ship filled with Spaniards was off their harbour; adding, that he needed be under no alarm, as they were come "not to give mercy but to ask it," and that the magistrates desired his advice how to act towards them. The principal inhabitants having convened, it was agreed to give audience to the commander, and that their minister, who had some acquaintance with the Spanish language, should convey to him the sentiments

\* Bulk of Univ. Kirk, ff. 140—152. Printed Calderwood, pp. 223—225. Spotswood passes over this transaction entirely. Dr. Robertson has confounded this *Band* with the *National Covenant* which was sworn seven years before. (*Hist. of Scotland*, vol. iii. b. vii. p. 83.)

of the town. Intimation of this having been sent to the vessel, a venerable old man of large stature and martial countenance entered the town-hall, and making a profound bow and touching the minister's shoe with his hand, addressed him in Spanish. "His name was Don Jan Gomes de Medina; he was commander of twenty ships, being part of the grand fleet which his master, Philip King of Spain, had fitted out to revenge the insufferable insults which he had received from the English nation; but God, on account of their sins, had fought against them, and dispersed them by a storm; the vessels under his command had been separated from the main fleet, driven on the north coast of Scotland, and shipwrecked on the Fair Isle; and, after escaping the merciless waves and rocks, and enduring great hardships from hunger and cold, he and such of his men as were preserved had made their way, in their only remaining bark, to this place, intending to seek assistance from their good friends and confederates, the Scots, and to kiss his Majesty's hand, (making another profound bow,) from whom he expected relief and comfort to himself, his officers, and poor men, who were in a most pitiable condition." When James Melville was about to reply in Latin, a young man, who acted as interpreter, repeated his master's speech in English. The minister then addressed the admiral. "On the score of friendship, or of the cause in which they were embarked, the Spaniards," he said, "had no claims

on them; the king of Spain was a sworn vassal to the bishop of Rome, and on that ground they and their King defied him; and with respect to England the Scots were indissolubly leagued with that kingdom, and regarded an attack upon it as the same with an attack on themselves: But although this was the case, they looked upon them, in their present situation, as men and fellow-creatures labouring under privations and sufferings to which they themselves were liable; and they rejoiced at an opportunity of testifying how superior their religion was to that of their enemies: Many Scotsmen who had resorted to Spain for the purpose of trade and commerce had been thrown into prison as heretics, their property confiscated, and their bodies committed to the flames; but so far from retaliating such cruelties on them, they would give them every kind of relief and comfort which was in their power, leaving it to God to work such a change on their hearts respecting religion as he pleased." This answer being reported by the interpreter to the Spanish admiral, he returned most humble thanks; adding, that he could not answer for the laws and practices of the church to which he belonged, but as for himself there were many in Scotland, and perhaps some in that very town, who could attest that he had treated them with favour and courtesy. After this, the admiral and his officers were conveyed to lodgings which had been provided for them, and were hospitably entertained by the magistrates and neighbouring gentlemen, until they obtained a pro-



tection and licence from his Majesty to return home\*. Before their departure James Melville received a printed account of the complete destruction of the Armada, with the names of the principal persons who had perished in the wreck of the galleots on the coasts of Wales, Ireland, and Scotland. On this news being imparted to Jan Gomes, the tears flowed down the furrowed cheeks of the hardy veteran.

The sequel of the story must not be suppressed. Some time after this, a trading vessel belonging to Anstruther was arrested in a Spanish port. Don Jan Gomes was no sooner informed of this than he posted to court, and obtained her release from the King, to whom he spoke in the highest terms of the humanity and hospitality of the Scots. He invited the ship's company to his house, inquired kindly after individuals of his acquaintance in the good town of Anstruther, and sent his warmest commendations to their minister, to whom he considered himself as particularly indebted †. The mind feels relieved in turning from "the battle of the warrior, with its confused noise, and garments rolled in blood," to contemplate the image of him who is "a strength to the needy in his distress, and a refuge from the

\* The names of the officers were "Capitan Patricio, Capitan de Legaretto, Capitan de Suffera, Capitan Mauritio, and Seignour Serrano." The privates "to the number of threttin score, for the maist part young berdles men, sillie, trauchled, and hungred," were supplied with "keall, pottage, and fishe." (Melville's Diary, p. 193.)

† Melville's Diary, pp. 192—194.

tempest, when the blast of the terrible is as a storm against the wall." It is pleasing to perceive the ardent zeal of our ancestors against popery not interfering with the calls of humanity and charity; and it is consolatory to find that there have always been examples of generosity and gratitude in a country which superstition has chosen for her favourite abode, and where bigotry has so long maintained her intolerant, degrading, and most frightful reign.

The signal overthrow of the Spanish Armament did not repress the fiery zeal of the Papists in Scotland. During the year 1589 they were indefatigable in extending their conspiracy among the nobility; and their agents urged Philip, and the Duke of Parma, his general in the Low Countries, to send an army directly to Scotland, as the best method of invading the dominions of the English Queen. An assembly of the chief ministers was again called; Thomas Craig and other eminent lawyers assisted at their deliberations; and the wise and vigorous measures which they recommended, enabled the government to suppress the insurrection made by the popish lords on the discovery of their traitorous correspondence. Melville took the lead in this affair; and was chosen Moderator of the Assembly, to which his nephew acted as clerk\*.

\* Melville's Diary, pp. 195—198. Printed Calderwood, pp. 227—229, 230—244.

It was at this time that the variance which had long subsisted between the court and the church began to be removed. This was chiefly owing to the prudence of the Chancellor Maitland. That able statesman had commenced his political career unhappily under the administration of Arran, and had taken an active part in promoting some of the most obnoxious measures respecting the government of the church. But he was soon convinced of the folly and mischief of that course, and embraced the first opportunity of cautiously retracing his steps. He perceived the danger to which the nation was exposed from the popish faction, and the policy of cultivating a close connexion with England. He saw that the peace of the church was necessary to the strength of the kingdom, and that this could not be established so long as the court supported the bishops, who were odious to their brethren and destitute of all influence over the people. And he was convinced that it was a gross anomaly in politics, for the civil authority to uphold one form of ecclesiastical polity, while the church established by law continued to act upon another which was diametrically opposite to it. These views he took every opportunity of inculcating upon the King; and although he was thwarted by those who envied his power, and felt it no easy task to counteract prejudices which he had contributed to infuse into the royal breast, yet as James entertained a high opinion of his talents, and was very depend-

ent on those to whom he entrusted his affairs, the Chancellor was ultimately able to execute his plans\*.

Another individual who had great influence in bringing matters to this desirable issue was Robert Bruce. He was the second son of the laird of Airth, and after completing the study of the laws abroad, had practised for some years at the Scottish bar with the most flattering prospects of advancement. But after a severe struggle of mind between secular motives and convictions of a higher kind, he abandoned that profession and entered as a student of divinity at St. Andrews. In the year 1587 he was introduced to the General Assembly by Melville, who recommended him as every way qualified for filling the pulpit that had been occupied by Knox and Lawson. It was not without great reluctance, and after a considerable trial, that Bruce complied with the joint entreaties of his brethren and of the inhabitants of the capital †. The nobility respected him for his birth and connexions; his eminent gifts as a preacher gained him the affection of the com-

\* Melville's Diary, p. 200.

† Maitland, after mentioning that Bruce "threatened to leave the town" of Edinburgh in 1589, says the reason "may be easily guessed at," as he agreed to stay upon "the increase of his stipend to a thousand merks." (Hist. of Edinburgh, p. 45.) If instead of *guessing*, that writer had made himself acquainted with facts, he would have known, that Bruce, at the period referred to, had not yet consented to settle at Edinburgh, and had a call to St. Andrews which he preferred; (Record of Kirk Session of St. Andrews, May 21, 1589, Wodrow's Life of Bruce, p. 4.) that the minister who held the first charge in the metropolis required a stipend much greater than that of

mon people ; and those who could not love him stood in awe of his commanding talents, and his severe and incorruptible virtue. He acted in full concert with Melville ; and his station at Edinburgh, and his influence with the Chancellor, who paid much deference to his opinions, enabled him to be of greater service to the church than any other individual \*.

The happy effects of this change of policy appeared convincingly while his Majesty was in Denmark, on the occasion of his marriage. In the instructions which he left behind him, he nominated Bruce an extraordinary member of the Privy Council, and declared that he reposed more confidence in him and his brethren, for preserving the country in peace, than he did in all his nobility. Nor was he disappointed. Bothwell was made to give public satisfaction in the church of Edinburgh for his turbulent conduct. The popish lords attempted to excite disturbance ; but, finding the council prepared to resist them, they desisted from their practices and remained quiet. During the six months that the King and Chancellor were absent, the kingdom exhibited a scene of unwonted tranquillity : scarcely one affray happened in which blood was shed ; al-

his colleagues, in as much as the task of keeping up an extensive correspondence on the affairs of the national church was devolved on him ; and that the independent spirit, and scrupulous honour, which Bruce evinced through the whole of his life, raised him above the suspicion of being actuated by such mean and mercenary motives.

\* Cald. iii. 320. Melville's Diary, pp. 106, 200.

though formerly a week seldom elapsed without instances of such violations of the peace and insults on legal authority \*. The letters which Bruce received at this time from James remain as proofs of his meritorious services, and of the ingratitude of the monarch by whom he was afterwards treated with the most unmerited and unrelenting severity †.

Melville was invited to be present at the ceremony of the Queen's coronation, which was performed with great solemnity in the Chapel of Holyroodhouse, on the 17th of May, 1590, in the presence of the ambassadors of Denmark and other foreign states, and of a great concourse of Scottish nobility and gentry. On that occasion three sermons were preached; one in Latin, another in French, and a third in English ‡. After an interval, during which the royal party retired for a little from the assembly, Robert Bruce performed the ceremony of anointing the Queen, and, assisted by the Chancellor and David Lindsay, placed the crown on her Majesty's head. Melville then rose, and recited a Latin poem in celebration of the joyful event. The solemnity continued from ten in the morning till five at night §.

\* Melville's Diary, pp. 204, 205.

† Calderwood (iv. 178—194, 445.) has preserved three letters written from Denmark by the Chancellor, and four by the King, to Bruce. His Majesty addresses him as his "trusty and well-beloved counselor;" and says that he was "worth the quarter of his kingdom," that he would reckon himself "beholden while he lived" for the services he had done him, and that he would "never forget the same."

‡ The coronation was on a Sabbath.

§ Cald. iv. 196—198. Moyse's Memoirs, p. 170. Schediasmata

Melville had no information that he was expected to take part in the coronation until two days before it happened. He had therefore little time for preparation. But, although hastily composed, his poem was greatly admired, as well as the spirited and graceful manner in which it was pronounced. In returning him thanks, his Majesty said, That he had that day done him and the country such honour as he could never requite. He enjoined him to give the poem immediately into the hands of the printer, adding, that all the ambassadors joined with him in soliciting its publication. It was accordingly printed next day, under the title of *Stephaniskion* \*; and being circulated through Europe, added to the reputation which the author had already gained. Lipsius and Scaliger, who then divided between them the dictatorship in the republic of letters, bestowed on it their warmest commendations †. A

Hadr. Dammanis. Edin. 1590. Spotswood hurries over the affair of the coronation. "The King (says he) determining to have it done in most solemn manner, because none of the bishops were present, nor could conveniently be brought against the day, made choice of Mr. Robert Bruce to perform the ceremony." (Hist. p. 381. The bishops, forsooth, good men! were all so conscientiously employed in watching their flocks, that not one of them could spare time to wait on the court, but left this business to "idle" ministers. To make amends for the brevity of his description, the archbishop introduces, by way of episode or diversion, an account of a dispute among the ministers respecting the lawfulness of unction, which his Majesty put an end to, by threatening that he would "stay till one of the bishops came." James knew very well, that half a dozen of them would have started up at a single blast of his hunting-horn.

\* See Note DD.

† On reading it, Lipsius exclaimed, *Revera Andreas Melvius est serio doctus*. And Scaliger, who was not usually lavish in his praises

general regret was expressed that the author of such a poem did not favour the public with larger and more frequent productions of his muse. When this was signified to him by his friends, he repeated the excuse which he had formerly made \*, but at the same time gave them ground to hope that their wishes would be gratified, if he should find leisure from his more important and pressing avocations †.

On the first Sabbath after the coronation of the Queen, the King attended sermon in St. Giles's church, and made a harangue to the people, in which he thanked them and the ministers for their conduct during his absence, confessed that the affairs of the kingdom had hitherto been ill administered, and promised to exert himself in the correction of all abuses. At the ensuing meeting of the General Assembly he repeated these professions, lamented the bloody feuds which disgraced the country, and exhorted the ministers to embrace every opportunity of impressing their hearers with the enormity of such crimes. It was on this occasion that he pronounced his celebrated panegyric on the purity of the Church of Scotland. He praised God that he was born in

of others, and did not entertain the lowest opinion of his own abilities, among other complimentary expressions, said in a letter to the author, *Nos talia non possumus*. (Melville's Diary, p. 206.)

\* See above, p. 87.

† Melville's Diary, ut supra. Calderwood represents Melville's *Stephaniskion* as delivered in the presence of the ambassadors on the day of the Queen's public entrance into the City of Edinburgh, which was two days after the Coronation. (Cald. iv. 198.) This is incorrect. (Delitæ Poet. Scot. ii. 71.)



such a time, as in the time of the light of the Gospel, and in such a place, as to be King in such a kirk, the purest kirk in the world. "The kirk of Geneva (continued his Majesty) keepeth Pasch and Yule. What have they for them? they have no institution. As for our neighbour kirk in England, their service is an evil-said mass in English: they want nothing of the mass but the liftings. I charge you, my good people, ministers, doctors, elders, nobles, gentlemen, and barons, to stand to your purity; and I forsooth, so long as I brook my life and crown, shall maintain the same against all deadly\*." Whether James was seized on this occasion with a sudden fit of devotion and of affection for his mother-church, or whether he merely adopted this language to gain the favour of the ministers, may admit of some doubt. But it is certain, that the speech was received by the assembly with a transport of joy: "there was nothing heard for a quarter of an hour, but praising God and praying for the King."

When the church was enjoying internal peace, and had the prospect of obtaining from the government a redress of her grievances, she met with an unexpected attack from a foreign quarter. Notwithstanding the difference between the churches of

\* Cald. iv. 198, 204. When Spotswood has occasion to mention any thing said or done by his Majesty in favour of presbytery, he usually adds, that the King temporized with the ministers. But such an apology on the present occasion would have been rather too gross; and, accordingly, he omits entirely that part of the speech which was in commendation of the church of Scotland. (Hist. p. 382.)

England and Scotland, in their external form of worship and discipline, they had hitherto continued on friendly terms. The latter rested satisfied with acting for herself in removing various corruptions which were retained by the former, and did not interfere with the internal affairs of her neighbour; except by interceding, in one or two instances, in behalf of those who were suffering for non-conformity to the ceremonies. Even when engaged in contending against episcopacy, which the court and a few ambitious churchmen obtruded on them, contrary to the original constitution of their church, the ministers of Scotland had avoided, as far as possible, reflections on the ecclesiastical establishment of England. The English bishops, who were in general men respectable for their piety and talents, had used the same reserve with respect to Scotland, and endeavoured to preserve that union between the two nations which was of the greatest consequence to both, while they were exposed to the restless attacks of a common and dangerous enemy. Of late years, symptoms of an opposite spirit had manifested themselves, in the countenance given to Adamson, and in the industry with which his calumnious libel had been circulated, in England. But open hostilities were at this time proclaimed by Doctor Bancroft, an aspiring ecclesiastic, in a sermon which he preached before the Parliament, and which was immediately published. It is scarcely possible to conceive a more perfect specimen of the argument *ad invidiam*, than this oration exhibits. All the topics of declamation cal-

culated to excite prejudice are carefully collected, and employed with no small art. Puritanism is the offspring of a spirit of pride, ambition, covetousness, and insubordination. Puritans are coupled with the worst heretics who had infested the church in ancient or modern times. All those writings which contained sentiments less favourable to monarchical government, whether published in Britain or on the Continent, are imputed to them. The jealousy of the Queen is aroused by representing them as enemies to her supremacy; the nobility are alarmed by being told that the recovery of abbey-lands was what they aimed at; and the gentry and commons are frightened with the inquisitorial powers of the presbyterian discipline. All are warned to avoid such pests to society; and magistrates are called on to use their authority to restrain and punish them\*. Not contented with exposing the evils of presbyterianism in the way of general argument, and with confuting such as maintained it in England, the author of the sermon makes a direct and wilful attack on the government and discipline of the church of Scotland. The Reformer whom the Scots held in veneration is stigmatized as a man of contentious humour and perverse behaviour. And an odious picture, borrowed from the distorted representations of

\* "If they (the puritanical "geese and dogs") will gaggle and make a noise in the day time without any cause, *opinor iis crura suffringantur*: I think it very fit they be rapt in the shinnes." (Bancroft's Sermon, p. 73, edit. 1636.)

Adamson and Brown, is given of the proceedings of the ministers and church-courts in Scotland during their late dissensions with the court. They took it upon them to alter the laws of the land, without the consent of the King and Estates—threatened them with excommunication—filled the pulpits with seditious and treasonable doctrine—utterly disclaimed the King's authority—trode upon his sceptre—laboured to establish an ecclesiastical tyranny of an infinite jurisdiction, such as neither the law of God nor of man could tolerate, which was the mother of all faction, confusion, sedition and rebellion, and an introduction to anabaptism and popularity—instead of one pope and some lord bishops in name, they had set up a thousand lordly tyrants who disclaimed the name: On these accounts the King had overthrown the presbyteries; and although it might seem from his recent conduct that he had altered his views of them, yet this could not be the case, and he was to be considered as merely accommodating himself for a time to circumstances\*. Such was the way in which the chaplain of the Lord Chancellor of England excited the members of the high court of Parliament to express their gratitude to Providence, for the deliverance which they had just experienced from the Spanish Armada! And such was the reward which the preachers of Scot-

\* "A sermon preached at Pauls Crosse the 9th of February; being the first Sunday in the Parliament Anno 1588 by Richard Bancroft—Chaplain to the L. Chancellor of England." Printed in 1588, and reprinted in 1636.

land received, for their unwearied efforts to preserve amity between the two kingdoms, and for the zeal with which they had aroused and persuaded their countrymen to make a common cause with England, during the most alarming danger with which she was ever threatened ! \*

It is easy to conceive how the ministers of the church of Scotland must have felt at this unprovoked attack. They viewed it, not as an attempt to bring the merits of the two forms of ecclesiastical polity to a fair and dispassionate discussion, but as a vile libel, intended to hold them up to detestation before a neighbouring nation; as the work of an interested alarmist, who was regardless of the means which he employed to please his patrons and to protect lucrative abuses; and as an attempt to throw a firebrand into a peaceable community, to rekindle the flame of dissension which was nearly quenched in Scotland, and to revive in the breast of his Majesty those prejudices and enmities which had already been productive of so much evil. Under these impressions they appointed a committee to write a letter to Elizabeth, complaining of the indignity

\* The only excuse that can be made for such conduct is, that the bishops were at this time greatly alarmed at the increase of the non-conformists, and at the resolutions of the House of Commons against ecclesiastical abuses. Bancroft gives an extract from "a Letter of P. A." (Patrick Adamson) which throws light on these fears. "Certain of the chiefe Noblemen of England dealt with me to perswade the king of Scotland my master to overthrow all the Bishopricks in his country, that his proceedings therein might be an example for England adjoining." (Dangerous Positions, p. 3, 2nd edit.)

which they had suffered \* ; and to draw up an answer to the railing accusations which had been brought against them †. The letter and the answer were prepared ; but on a calmer consideration of all circumstances, it was judged proper to suppress them, and to rest satisfied with a small publication by an individual, containing a protest against the rashness of the calumniator, and the reasons of their declining to enter upon a defence of their conduct ‡. They were averse to engage in open hostilities against the church of England. The falsehood of the charges brought against them was known to several individuals of the English court, who promised to see justice done them. They were loath to offend Elizabeth, whose patronage they had experienced, and of whose aversion to all innovations on the ecclesiastical constitution of her kingdom

\* Records of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, Dec. 9, 1589. A copy of the intended letter to Elizabeth is inserted in Cald. iv. 171—175.

† Records of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, April 29, and June 5, 1589.

‡ This was published by John Davidson under the following title: "D. Bancrofts Rashnes in rayling against the Chvrch of Scotland, noted in Answere to a Letter of a worthy person of England, and some reasons rendred, why the answere thereunto hath not hitherto come forth. By J. D. a brother of the sayd Church of Scotland. Ex Mvltis Pavca. At Edinbvrgh printed by Robert Walde-grave. Anno. 1590." B in eights. The running title is: "A proofoe of D. Bancrofts rashnes against the Church of Scotland." It concludes: "Farewell, from Edin. the 18. of September. 1590. Yours in the Lord. J. D." The only copy of this rare tract which I have seen or heard of is in the possession of Mr. David Laing.

they were fully aware. And they knew that James, though disposed to consent to the abolition of episcopacy in Scotland, was anxious to avoid giving offence to the English bishops, who might be provoked to lay obstacles in the way of his succession. A generous adversary would have scorned to avail himself of the advantage which these circumstances gave him, and would have desisted from assailing persons whom he knew to be restrained from self-defence. Bancroft was of a different disposition. Besides corresponding with Adamson, he employed an English bookseller at Edinburgh as a spy on the ministers, transmitted to him a string of officious queries respecting the conduct of the preachers and the procedure of the church-courts, and continued, from time to time, to publish the information which he catered by such means, in books still more inflamed and abusive than his first production\*. Sutcliff, Saravia, and other English divines carried on the same mode of warfare in various publications. By remaining silent under these attacks, the ministers of Scotland certainly displayed their moderation†:

\* Cald. iv. 175. Bancroft's publications are entitled: "A Survey of the Pretended Holy Discipline;" and "Dangerous Positions, or Scottish Genevating and English Scottizing for Discipline:" printed in 1593, and reprinted in 1662. In the last mentioned work, (p. 30, 2d edit.) Bancroft disingenuously complains of the Scottish ministers as attempting to "cast some of their contentious and dialoyal seeds into England." The only proof of this which he is able to produce is Davidson's book, consisting of sixteen small leaves, and extorted by his own virulent invective.

† Calderwood quotes from an answer made by John Davidson to Sutcliff, but I do not know that it was ever printed.

the wisdom of their conduct may be questioned by some who respect the motives from which it proceeded. The fact is mentioned here, as it throws light on the state of parties, and helps to account for events which will afterwards come under our notice.

James took an opportunity of contradicting the insinuation of Bancroft, that he dissembled in the concessions which he had lately made in favour of presbytery \*. But various parts of his conduct gave too much reason for concluding that he still retained the anti-reformation principles which he had imbibed from his early favourites. Desirous as the ministers were at this period to cultivate his good graces, it was impossible for them to refrain from censuring the glaring instances in which justice was diverted from its course, and convicted or notorious murderers screened from punishment, by his culpable negligence and favouritism. No instance of this kind raised the indignation of the people to such a pitch, or sunk the character of the King so low, as the murder of the Earl of Murray, the heir of the first Regent, by the Earl of Huntly, and the indifference, or rather aversion, which the court testified to avenge the crime. Melville, along with some other ministers, was deputed by the General Assembly, to wait on the King, and to stimulate him to the vigorous discharge of his duty in this affair. As was natural, the preachers, in tak-

\* Bancroft's Rashnes, sig. A 5.



ing notice of the death of the son, had alluded to the father, and mentioned the name of the Good Regent with that regard and veneration with which they continued to cherish his memory. In the course of the present conference James testified his dissatisfaction at such speeches. Melville defended them, and expressed his surprise and sorrow at learning, that there were persons about the court who spoke disrespectfully of those to whom Scotland was under the highest obligations. The conversation growing warm, the Chancellor, who did not feel quite at ease on this topic, interrupted Melville, and told him that that was not the errand on which he came. He answered, that on such a theme he would not be silenced by any individual beneath his Majesty. The King said, that none but seditious and traitorous theologues would defend Murray, Knox, and Buchanan. Melville replied, that they were the men who set the crown upon his head, and deserved better treatment. His Majesty said, that his crown came to him by succession, and was not given him by any man. "But they were the instruments," replied Melville; "and whosoever informs your Majesty sinistrously of these men neither loves you nor the commonwealth \*."

Adamson was the only one of the bishops who persisted in opposing the church after the annexation of their temporalities to the crown †. In August

\* Cald. iv. 250.

† Montgomery having submitted to the church, the trial of his repentance was referred to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, who, upon re-

1588, a variety of accusations were given in against him to the General Assembly. His extravagance and imprudence had involved him in great pecuniary embarrassments, and his person was liable to be seized by his creditors. He was charged with having abstracted, secreted, and mutilated the registers of the assembly, and with having celebrated the marriage of the Earl of Huntly, contrary to an express inhibition of the commissioners of the church\*.

ceiving satisfaction from him, removed the excommunication. (Record of Presb. of Edin. June 7, 1586; and Aug. 29. 1586.) "Anent the supplicatioun of Mr. Ro<sup>t</sup> Montgomerie," the General Assembly (February 1587<sup>g</sup>.) found that "he may be admittit pastour over a flock quhair he hes not been slanderous, provyding he be found qualified in lyfe and doctrine." (Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 150, a.)

\* The writer of the Life of Archbishop Adamson, in the *Biographia Britannica*, speaking of the marriage of the Earl of Huntly, says: "The not permitting a man to marry without his having first subscribed a confession of faith, is one of the completest instances of ecclesiastical folly and bigotry recorded in history." (Biog. Brit. vol. i. p. 41, 2nd edit.) The reader may pronounce on the wisdom and liberality of this censure, after considering the following circumstances of the case. Huntly was the chief of the popish party in Scotland, and deeply engaged in a treasonable correspondence with Spain. His proposed marriage with a ward of the crown, the daughter of the Duke of Lennox, his Majesty's favourite, was, for obvious reasons, dreaded by all the Protestants. To accomplish this object the more easily, Huntly feigned (as he afterwards acknowledged) a disposition to renounce the Catholic faith, but affected to stickle at some of the Protestant doctrines. The Presbytery of Edinburgh, believing that his object was to drive time, prohibited any of the ministers to celebrate the marriage until he had subscribed the confession. Notwithstanding this, Adamson performed the ceremony, at the very time that the Spanish Armada was expected to appear on the coast of England. (Record of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, July 3, 1588. Buik of Univ. Kirk. f. 152, b.)—The Life of Adamson in the *Biographia*

The assembly remitted his trial to the presbytery of Edinburgh, giving them full power to pass a final sentence in the process according to the laws of the church. Having proceeded on a libel given in against him by Robert Pont and Adam Johnston, the presbytery found the bishop guilty of falsehood and double-dealing, erroneous doctrine, opposition to the discipline of the church, and contempt of the late public thanksgiving; and therefore deposed him from all function in the ministry, and debarred him from privileges in the church, until he should give satisfaction for his offensive conduct \*.

What happened on the King's return from Denmark should have convinced Adamson, that he could no longer depend on the royal favour. But he continued to deceive himself with vain hopes; and, being flattered by letters from Bancroft, persevered in his opposition to presbytery, and in his attacks on Melville †. Nor was he undeceived until his annuity

is extremely incorrect. In the second edition, the liberal ideas of the editor, Dr. Kippis, joined to the old prejudices of the original author, form a piece of literary patchwork, which is curious, but not singular in such compilations.

\* Buik of Univ. Kirk. f. 153. Cald. iv. 71. Record of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, Oct. 15, and Dec. 17, 1588; and June 5, 1589.

† In his Dedication of his Paraphrase of the Revelation in Latin verse, ("Sanctiandreae, Cal. Maijs, 1590.") he informs the King that he had prepared a work, entitled *Psillus*, in which he had "sucked out the seditious poison infused by the *Melvinian faction*, defended the episcopal authority and the royal supremacy, and warned the neighbouring kingdom of England of the rocks on which the church of Scotland had struck." (Opera Adamsoni.)

was sequestered and given to the Duke of Lennox. In vain did he remonstrate against this deed ; in vain did he address elegant and plaintive verses to his Majesty, in which he reminded him of the zeal with which he had served him from his birth, and was ready still to serve him \*. James remained insensible to his entreaties, and withheld from him even that assistance which was necessary to preserve him from want. The unhappy bishop, deprived of his only support, sunk into deep dejection of mind, aggravated by poverty and sickness. So little reliance was placed on his sincerity, that few would believe that he was really in such a miserable situation ; and he was reduced to the humiliating step of writing a letter to Melville, in which, after professing sorrow for his former conduct, he disclosed to him his destitute circumstances. Melville immediately visited him, supported his family out of

\* *Auspiciis i musa bonis, pete limina Regis,  
Difficiles aditus non habet ille locus.  
Invenies illic castas, tua vota, sorores ;  
Musarum Princeps præsidet ipse choro.*

After mentioning the various services which he had rendered to the King, in France, in England, and in Scotland, he concludes :

*His dictis, postquam surgentes ordine musas  
Viderit ad lacrymas ingemuisse tuas,  
Et tristi aspiciens BARTASSIA NUMINA vultu,  
Haud dubie votis annuet ille tuis.  
Tu voti compos, caveas ne decide penna  
Segnior in laudes repperiare suas.*

(*Epigrammata, T. 4. Oper. Adamsoni, 4to.*)

his own purse for some months, and afterwards procured a contribution for him from his friends in St. Andrews. When the provincial synod of Fife met, Adamson applied to them to be released from the sentence of excommunication which they had formerly pronounced against him. His petition was granted; and he subscribed several papers, in which he recanted his episcopal sentiments, retracted the famous declaration which he had published in defence of the acts of Arran's parliament, and professed his deep sorrow for the opposition which he had made to the judicatories and discipline of the church. He died on the 19th of February, 1592.

The circumstances in which the archbishop subscribed his recantation necessarily throw a degree of suspicion over the sincerity with which it was made, and detract from its value as a testimony in favour of presbytery. But there is not the least reason to doubt the genuineness of the document itself\*. The presbyterian writers have done ample

\* Wilson passes it over, and says that the ministers took advantage of an ambiguous expression of his father-in-law, to circulate the report that he had renounced episcopacy. (*Vita Patr. Adamsoni*, pp. 16, 17.) Spotswood allows that he subscribed the articles "which were afterwards imprinted under the name of Mr. Patrick Adamsons Recantation;" but he alleges that "when it was told him that such a recantation was published in his name he complained heavily of the wrong that was done him, and committing his cause to God, ended his days in the end of this year. (*Hist.* p. 385.) The recantation was subscribed April 8, 1591. (*Cald.* iv. 214.) It was sent to the Presbytery of Edinburgh in the course of that month, that they might "give thair advys gif they vald the said patrick suld add ony thing thairto—as also gif they sall think it expedient to be prentit."

justice to Adamson's talents, but it has been alleged that their prejudices induced them to injure his character. If they did so, they acted not merely an unjustifiable, but also a foolish and preposterous part; for in proportion as they detracted from his reputation, they diminished the honour of the victory which they had gained over the chief of their antagonists\*. Nothing can be more absurd, although nothing is more common, than to identify the merits of a public cause, good or bad, with the private qualities of individuals by whom it may happen to be supported. There have been learned and pious bishops; and there have been illiterate and worthless presbyters. That the opponents of Adamson exaggerated his faults, and accused him of some things which were not criminal, I allow; but, on the other hand, I am satisfied that those who feel most respect for his talents and station

(Record of Presbytery of Edinburgh, April 20, 1591.) Adamson survived this ten months. (Th. Volusenus, Vita P. Adamsoni, p. 23.) By its being "published," Spotswood must mean its being made publicly known: and surely Adamson knew, when he subscribed the paper, that this was the use to be made of it. It does not appear to have been printed until the year 1598. (Ames by Herbert, p. 1519.) At that time several, if not all, of the witnesses in whose presence it was subscribed, were alive; and among them were the most respectable gentlemen of the county.

\* This is allowed by James Melville. "The man haid manie grait giftes, bot specialle excellit in the toung and pen.—If he haid bein endowit bot withe a commoun civill piece of honestye in his delling and conversation, he haid ma meanes to haiff wrought mischieff in a kirk or countrey nor anie I haiff knawin or hard of in our yland." (Diary, p. 215.)

will be pained to find, on examination, that the leading charges brought against him are supported by evidence too strong to admit of being controverted. In his works is a beautiful little poem, breathing a spirit of warm piety, which his son-in-law informs us was composed by him a short time before his death \*.

The death of Adamson was followed by the legal establishment of presbytery. In June 1592, the Parliament passed an act, ratifying the general assemblies, provincial synods, presbyteries, and particular sessions of the church; and declaring them, with the jurisdiction and discipline belonging to them, to be in all time coming most just, good, and godly, notwithstanding whatsoever statutes, acts, and laws, canon, civil, or municipal, made to the contrary. This act ratified and embodied some of the leading propositions in the Second Book of Discipline, relating to the power of these judicatories. It appointed General Assemblies to be held once every year, or oftener *pro re nata*, as occasion

\* Adamsoni Opera, 4to. Vita Adamsoni, p. 16, 12mo. James was the eldest, and Patrick the second, son of Patrick archbishop of St. Andrews. (Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 355, 480.) His daughter was married to Thomas Wilson, an advocate, who wrote a life of his father-in-law, and published a collection of his works in 1619. The bishop married Elizabeth, daughter of William Arthour and Margaret Martine. (Inventory of goods and books belonging to Mr. William Skene.) Margaret Martine, after the death of "Mr. Williame Arthor of Kernis her first husband," married "Mr. William Skene commissar of Sanctandros." (Record of Privy Council, January 17, 1582. Commissary Rec. of St. Andrews, Jan. 2, 1572; May 8, and 24, 1594.)

should require ; the time and place of next meeting to be appointed by his Majesty or his commissioner, or, provided neither of them should be present, by the Assembly itself. And it appointed provincial synods to be held twice a-year. It rescinded an act authorizing the observance of Christmas and Easter, and some other acts favourable to popery, which had hitherto been allowed to remain in the statute-book. It declared that the act of the parliament 1584, respecting the royal supremacy, should be in no wise prejudicial to the privileges of the office-bearers of the church, concerning heads of religion, matters of heresy, excommunication, the appointment or deprivation of ministers, or any such essential censures warranted by the word of God. And it declared the act of the same Parliament, granting commission to bishops and other judges appointed by his Majesty in ecclesiastical causes, to be null, and of no avail, force or effect in time coming ; and ordained presentations to be directed to presbyteries, who should have full power to give collation to benefices, and to manage all ecclesiastical causes within their bounds, provided they admitted such qualified ministers as were presented by his Majesty or other lay patrons \*.

\* Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 541. This statute has the vague and un-descriptive title of " Act for abolishing of the actis contrair the true religion."



This settlement was not without its defects. Not to mention some important pieces of reformation, craved in the Second Book of Discipline, which were entirely left out, the supreme court was deprived of the right which it had hitherto possessed of appointing its own meetings; and the power of presbyteries and the liberties of the people were fettered by the continuance of lay patronage. At a posterior period, when the reformation of the church was carried to a higher degree of perfection, and a settlement made upon more liberal principles, these restrictions were abolished. But at present this could not be obtained; and the church waved her demand in consideration of the advantages which the act conferred on her. Nor were these restrictions found to be so hurtful in effect as might have been imagined. So long as the court was disposed to respect the law, and to allow the church to meet annually in General Assembly, the settling of the particular time and place of meeting was of minor importance; and the arrangement made respecting this might be viewed as an accommodation to the ideas that then generally prevailed as to all public conventions. Nor was the law of patronage attended with very serious evils at a period when the church courts held, that the consent of the people was to be obtained previously to the settlement of a minister among them, and when, actuated by this principle, they were studious, by the influence which they used with patrons, and by the regulations which they made as to presentees, to lighten, instead of

aggravating, a yoke which has always been felt to be oppressive and degrading\*.

The Act of Parliament 1592, which still continues to be the charter of the Church of Scotland's liberties, has always been regarded by Presbyterians in an important light, and as a great step in national reformation. It repealed several statutes which were favourable to superstition, and hostile to the independence of the kingdom. It reduced the prerogative of the crown, which had lately been raised to an exorbitant height; and, by legally securing the religious privileges of the nation against arbitrary encroachments, it pointed out the propriety and practicability of providing similar securities in behalf of political rights. It gave the friends of the Presbyterian constitution the advantage of occupying legal ground, and enabled them, during a series of years, to oppose a successful resistance to the efforts of the court to obtrude on them an opposite system. And as often as the nation felt disposed to throw off the imposed yoke of episcopacy, they appealed to this charter, and founded upon it a "claim of right" to the recovery of their ancient liberties.

\* The Church of Scotland did not regard the present or any other parliamentary grant, as the basis of her religious constitution. This had been already laid down from Scripture in her Books of Discipline. For all her internal administration, she pleaded and rested upon higher grounds than either regal

\* See Note EE.

or parliamentary authority. What she now obtained was a legal recognition of those powers which she had long claimed as belonging to her by scriptural institution and the gift of her Divine Head. She had now a right *in foro poli et soli*, by human as well as divine law, to hold her assemblies for worship and discipline, and to transact all the business competent to her as an ecclesiastical society, without being liable to any challenge for this, and without being exposed to any external interruption or hindrance whatever, either from individuals or from the executive government. Without entering on the question of civil establishments of religion, which might be shown to be consonant with the soundest principles of policy and Christianity, I shall only remark, that when the sanction of civil authority is given to a church properly organized and duly reformed, it may prove one of the greatest national blessings, and be no less beneficial to the power which confers it than to the society on which it is conferred. Had the Church of Scotland been remiss in her exertions to obtain this sanction, or had she declined to accept it when offered, she would have acted an unwise and criminal part. Had the statutes which were directly opposed to her discipline been simply abrogated, without its receiving a positive and legal ratification, it would have been still liable to be interrupted and hindered whenever the court chose to take offence at any part of ecclesiastical management, or to advance the plea that it fell under the civil jurisdiction. And if the

system of some modern theorists had been adopted—if all laws relating to the church had at once been swept away, the ecclesiastical property totally secularized, and a universal freedom in matters of religion proclaimed—the consequences would have been, that many parts of the country would have been thrown destitute of religious instruction and worship; ignorance, and crime, and atheism, would have spread through the land; and, within a short time, popish superstition and tyranny would have regained that power which had been wrested from them with such difficulty, and at the expense of so much toil and blood. The folly of such a course would scarcely have been less than that of abolishing all public institutions for education and the promoting of learning through the kingdom, and of leaving the object of these to be gained entirely by individual exertion or voluntary association; a measure which would be preposterous and hurtful at any time, but which, at the period under consideration, would have been productive of ruinous and irremediable mischief.

This important act was not obtained without a final struggle. It was keenly opposed by some of the nobility from motives which had long been no secret, and they suffered it at last to pass in the hopes that it would be suppressed by the King. There is little reason to doubt that this would have been its fate, had it not been for the peculiar situation in which the court was then placed. The murder of the Earl of Murray, and the impunity ex-

tended to the murderer, had excited universal indignation among the people. Ballads and placards were published, accusing the principal courtiers; and even James himself, as accessory to that foul deed; and Bothwell was in arms to revenge it. In these circumstances, the Chancellor, who had incurred a great share of the popular odium, prevailed on the King to assent to the act ratifying Presbytery, as a deed which more than any other would conciliate the public favour to his administration. The royal assent was accordingly given to it, to the great joy of the commissioners of the General Assembly, who had been in constant and active attendance, but despaired of being able to carry the measure until the Parliament was on the eve of dissolution, and were not fully relieved from their fears until they heard the act proclaimed among others at the market-cross of Edinburgh \*.

Melville must have been highly gratified with this act of the legislature. He had now procured the sanction of the state as well as of the church, to a form of ecclesiastical polity which he regarded as agreeable to the Scripture pattern, and eminently conducive to the spiritual and temporal welfare of the nation. Principles, for the maintenance of which he had often been branded as seditious and a traitor, were now not merely recognized as innocent and lawful, but pronounced "most just, good, and godly," by the highest authority in the land. It was the

\* Melville's Diary, pp. 216, 219. Cald. iv. 282.

triumph of the cause which had cost him so much labour and anxiety during eighteen years. He could now cherish the hope of being permitted to apply himself with less interruption to his studies and academical duty; although he must have been aware, that it would be necessary for him to watch, with the utmost vigilance, over the safety of an establishment, which still had many enemies, by whose efforts it might be secretly undermined, or violently overthrown.

He was now at the point of departure for his journey to the United States, and was about to embark for New York. He had been for some time in the habit of writing to his friends, and had received many replies. He was now about to embark for New York, and was about to embark for New York.

He had now been in the United States for some time, and was about to embark for New York. He had now been in the United States for some time, and was about to embark for New York. He had now been in the United States for some time, and was about to embark for New York.

## CHAPTER VI.

1592—1596.

CHANGE of Professors in the New College—James Melville becomes Minister at Anstruther and Kilmory—His disinterested conduct—John Jonston—Learned Englishmen invited to Scotland—Melville elected Rector of the University—Firmness displayed by him in that Office—He sits as an Elder in the Kirk-session of St. Andrews—Peculiar practices in Sessions and Presbyteries—David Black—Dissension in the Presbytery of St. Andrews—Death of Erskine of Dun—Public Affairs—Arran's return to Court Frustrated by the Firmness of the Ministers—Conspiracy of the Popish Lords—Their Excommunication and Criminal Process—Reasons of the King's partiality to them—Melville calumniated as a favourer of Bothwell—Loyal dispositions of the Ministers of the Church—Melville's reasoning before the Lords of Articles—He accompanies the Expedition against the Popish Lords—Who leave the Kingdom—Melville's Poem on the Birth of Prince Henry—His brawl with Balfour of Burley—Death of Chancellor Maitland—Renovation of the Covenant—Return of the Popish Lords—Singular Interview between the King and Melville—The Court renew their Designs against the Liberties of the Church—Black's Declinature—Tumult in Edinburgh.

SINCE the year 1586, Melville had met with no interruption in the performance of his academical

duties. Nor did any thing deserving of particular notice occur in the college until the year 1597, except the changes of the professors who taught under him.

James Melville had all along intended to devote himself to the service of the church as a parochial minister; and the only thing which prevented him from gratifying his predilection for this employment, was a conviction that his assistance was necessary to his uncle at the commencement of his literary operations. In the end of the year 1586, the affairs of the theological seminary at St. Andrews were brought to such a settled state, that, with the consent of all parties, he accepted of a call from the parish of Anstruther, to which he was soon after admitted by the presbytery\*. His predecessor, William Clark, a pious and laborious minister, had been burdened with the care of the neighbouring parishes of Kilrinny, Pittenweem, and Abercromby; according to a vicious arrangement which the court, in concert with the spoilers of the ecclesi-

\* "1586. 22. day Oct. being Sunday, Mr James Melvill our minister now began and ministered the sacrament of Baptisme as after follows in Anstruther" (Register of Births, &c. in Anstruther.). In the records of that session the name of *Andrew Melville*, an elder, frequently occurs; and as the witnesses at baptisms were generally the relations of the parents, it is probable, from the following minute, that he was allied to the Principal. "1588. 25 Junij. Andro Melvill, a chyld baptist called Andro. Witnes Mr Andro Melvill." (Ibid.)—"3 November 1590. Androu Melvill, ane chyld baptist, called Robert. Witneses Thomas Morton of Cambo and Sr Jos Melvill of carnbie." (Record of Kirk Session of Anstruther.)



astical revenues, had sanctioned it. James Melville entered on the same extensive charge, but it was with views very remote from those of a necessitous and mercenary pluralist. By his exertions with the parishioners, and with the proper courts, separate ministers were settled at Pittenweem and Abercromby, in whose favour he relinquished the proportions of stipend due to him from these places. He had brought with him Robert Dury as an assistant. To him he demitted the charge of Anstruther, with all its emoluments, while he himself removed to Kilrinny. Thus, in the course of three years, he provided a minister for each of these four parishes, which had been long deprived of the dispensation of divine ordinances or had enjoyed that benefit but partially and occasionally.

For further details of the history of the parishes of Anstruther and Pittenweem, see the following:

1. Melville's Diary, pp. 1, 101. "Mr Wm Clark took of the parish of Kylmarynie and Anstruther deceased in the month of Feb 1660. No person was placed in his room on the 8th of June, 1685. (Reg. of Presb. of Bener. vol. ii. p. 133.)" (Ibid. Jan 10, 1685.)

2. James Melville had married Elizabeth the daughter of John Dury minister, first of Edinburgh, and afterwards of Montreal. Robert Dury appears to have been a relation of that minister. He married Elizabeth Rutherford, and one of his children was presented to baptism by George Ramsay of Langlaw. (Session Rec. of Anstruther, May 18, 1605, and March 8, 1607.) "Mr Andrew Melville" was a witness to the baptism of a son of Robert Dury's, named Andrew, and a daughter, named Margaret. (Ibid. March 18, 1602.)

3. The town of Anstruther-Easter belonged to the parish of Kilrinny. The minutes of the kirk-session of Anstruther-Wester contain the following most natural expression of disappointed love, on their minister's leaving them. "Mr James Melville took his guid night from this congregation the said moneth of October, 1600, yeas and came him to kylmarynie to be their minister. God forgif him that did us

On his settlement in Kilrimny he built a manse almost entirely at his own expense. The legal funds for supporting the minister having been alienated, the parish voluntarily bound themselves to pay him an annual stipend. This he relinquished for a sum of money; with which, added to what he could borrow from his friends, he purchased from the family of Anstruther the right to the tithes of the vicarage. Instead of taking his title to these from the laird of Anstruther as tackman, in which case he would have secured the repayment of what he had expended, he entered to the benefice, by presentation and institution, as actual minister; thus securing it to his successors in office, and leaving his family to Providence, and to the sentiments of justice and gratitude by which the future incumbent might be actuated. He paid the salary of the schoolmaster out of his own purse; and as the parish was populous, and he was often called away on the common affairs of the church, he constantly maintained an assistant. His whole conduct in this affair exhibits a rare example of ministerial disinterestedness, which, in this calculating age, will be in danger of passing for simplicity, not only with the secular clergy, but with those whose spirituality is so exquisitely sensitive

for I know and saw him promes that he suld never laif wa for any vardinie respect sa lang as he lyvit except he var forsait be the kirk and his Majestie, bot nevir being forait aither be kirk or his Majestie, leift wa." (Ib. October 6, 1690.) Had the minister taken that step "for any worldly respect," could he have read this extra-judicial minute of the honest session-clerk without a pang of remorse?

as to shrink from the very idea of a legal or fixed provision for ministers of the Gospel\*.

James Melville was succeeded, as professor of Hebrew, by his cousin Patrick Melville, who had held the same situation at Glasgow†. About the same time John Caldclough was employed to teach as a fourth professor‡. Robertson continued in

Melville's Diary, pp. 2—b. After stating that he had expended

3,500 marks on the mantle; and 2,400 marks on the tunic, he says: "My friend wald ask, What I haiff for my rebuff of sic counsels. I answer, the favour and providence of my guid God. For gif he speir my dayes, with rest in his kirk, I hope he sall utreade all my dettes.—Gif not, and the Intrans be worthis of the room of this ministrie, God and his consciences will move him to pay the deat resting; gif he will not, the grieff and los will be graitter to haiff sic a man in the room, nor of myne to pay my deattes whowbeit they sell the books and pleasuring for that effect.—As for the Town and parochie the benefit indeed is thairs: let them thairfor, as I hope they will, consider their dewtie.—I man earnestlie admonishe the house of Anstuther never to mein to acclame againe the tytle and possession of thay tene: for I promise heir a curse and malediction from God upon whosoever sall intromet and draw away the commoditie thair of from the right use of sustenting of the ministrie of Gods worchipe and of the salvation of Gods peple."

† "M. Patricius Melvin" signs the Articles of Religion in the University of St. Andrews in 1587, and in the following year he was chosen one of the Rector's assessors. (Papers of Univ.)

‡ Grant by James to Mr. John Caldclough, anno 1588. (MS. in Bibl. Fac. Jurid. Edin. Jac. v. i. 12.) This ratifies and disposes to him "the 3d place of the Lectors and professors of the said new Colledge," and assigns to him "for his stipend yearly Three chalders of victuall together with a Hundred pounds money." It states that he had been chosen by the Commissioners for the reformation of the University, and had taught within the said college continually since that time. But it appears from the Commissary Records that Andrew Melville, James Melville, and John Robertson were the only professors between 1580 and 1584.

the college until the year 1593, when, on occasion of his death or resignation, he was succeeded by John Jonston, a native of Aberdeenshire, and of the family of Creimond\*. After finishing the ordinary course of study at King's College, Jonston went abroad, and continued during eight years to cultivate polite and sacred letters at the most celebrated universities on the continent†. Having gained the friendship of the chief literati in France and Germany, and spent some time in England, he returned to his native country. Jonston was a poet and divine as well as a scholar. Melville had heard of the reputation which he had gained abroad, and was so much pleased with him on a personal interview, that he never ceased until he procured him as a colleague in the work of theological instruction‡.

\* John Jonston calls himself "Aberdonensis" in the title-page of his *Herods*; but this does not necessarily imply that he was born in the town of Aberdeen. In his Last Will he constitutes Robert Johnston of Creimond one of his executors, and bequeathes a small legacy to the kaird of Oaskiben. "Item I leave to Mr Robt Mercer person of Banquhorie, my suld kynd maister, in talien of my thankfull dewtie; my quhyte bope w<sup>th</sup> the silver 3s." *Annals of Aberdeen*, i. 117.

† Consolatio Christiana; per Joann. Jonstonum, p. 4. In 1587, he was at the University of Helmstädt, whence he sent a MS. copy of Buchanan's *Sphæra*, to Pincier, who published a second edition of that poem, with two epigrams by Jonston. (*Sphæra*, a Georgio Buchanan Scotto. A 8, s. Herborno, 1587.) In 1597, he was in the University of Rostock, whither Lipsius wrote to him in very flattering terms, acknowledging the receipt of a letter and a poem from him. (*Elipii Opera*, tom. II. pp. 48, 50.) In 1591, he was residing at Geneva. vi. (*Historia De Reconciliatione: Epistolæ Dedit Joann. Jonstonum*. Basil, 1604.)

‡ Consolatio Christiana; *ut* supra, pp. 4, 5. In the Dedication of that work (4. eid. Feb. 1609.) Jonston says he had then been only

His admission was opposed by Caldclough, who thought himself entitled to Robertson's place, and had recourse to legal measures to enforce his claim; but he not only lost his cause, but was also deprived of the situation which he already held in the college.

About this time the King invited Hugh Broughton, the celebrated Hebrew scholar, to Scotland. I should have mentioned before, that Melville joined in an invitation to Cartwright and Travers, the two well-known English nonconformists, to come to St. Andrews, on the erection of the theological college in that city. None of these invitations was accepted.

In the year 1590, the venerable James Wilkie, principal of St. Leonard's College, and rector of the university, died. Robert Wilkie succeeded to the former of these places. Melville was elected Rector, and continued to hold the office, by re-election, for a number of years. He had more than one opportunity of acting in this office, and he held it for fourteen years in the University of St. Andrews—"binas annorum hebdomadas." But "Mr. Jhone Jhonesoun maister in ye new college" was elected one of the elders of St. Andrews. "Dis xlviii mensis Novembris 1593." (Record of Kirk-session of St. Andrews)

\* Melville's Diary, p. 236.

† Strype's Life of Whitgift, (anno 1595) p. 452.

‡ Fuller's Church History, vol. ii. p. 515. This historian has inserted the letter, of which he possessed the original, under the year 159-; but it bears internal marks of having been written in 1590, before Melville left Glasgow. It was subscribed, according to Fuller, by "J<sup>o</sup> Glasgouy (Glasgow) Academicus Castellanus: Alayus (A. Hayius) Rector. Thomas Smetonius Decanus: Andreas Melvinus Collegii prefectus. Mr. David Wems, minister Glascoviensis."

§ Papers of the University.

tanity of shewing his resolution and prudence as chief magistrate of the university. In these times, when the students formed a separate community under a jurisdiction independent of the town in which they resided, frequent feuds occurred between them and the inhabitants. The students of divinity at St. Andrews had fitted up a place in the garden of their college, in which they might enjoy the favourite amusement of shooting with the bow. Caldcleugh, "one of the masters of theology, but scarce yet a scholar in archery," amusing himself one day with this exercise, overshot the mark so far, that his arrow, flying over several houses, lighted in the neck of one Turnbull, a maltman, who happened to be passing through an adjoining lane. The wound was neither mortal nor dangerous; but some individuals who were inimical to the New College laid hold on this incident to inflame the minds of the inhabitants. A mob, collected by the ringing of the town-bell, forced the gate of the college, and finding Melville's chamber secured, called for fire, and threatened to burn the house, with all that were in it, unless Caldcleugh was instantly delivered up to them. By addressing them from a window, and flattering some and threatening others, Melville succeeded in gaining time, till his friends assembled and rescued him from his perilous situation. The town-council, yielding to the popular clamour, took up the cause, and insisted that the rector should renounce all right to judge in the affair, and find security to produce the aggressor before them or the

lord of regality, provided Turnbull's wound proved mortal \*. Some of his friends, alarmed at the storm raised against the university, went and gave the security which was demanded; but he refused to compromise his authority or allow the outrage to pass unpunished. The magistrates were accordingly called to account, and obliged to delete the obligation from their records. The ringleaders of the riot were brought to trial, and would have been severely punished, had not Melville put a stop to the prosecution, upon their submission and giving bond for their peaceful conduct for the future †.

He was no less ready to support the authority of the magistrates of the town, when assailed by the turbulent and ambitious, than he was to assert the rights of the university. The affairs of the borough had been grossly mismanaged under the direction of Learmont of Dairsie, a neighbouring gentleman, who had for many years held the office of provost. In the year 1592, the burgesses, availing themselves of their right, elected another individual as chief magistrate. Incensed at being excluded from an office which he considered as hereditary in his family, Dairsie sought to revenge himself in a way which was then too common; and Balfour of Burley, one of his friends, repeatedly entered St. Andrews during the night at the head of an armed force, and committed depredations upon the inhabitants. On one occasion, Dairsie having approached the town

\* See Note FF.

† Melville's Diary, pp. 225, 226.

at the head of a strong band of his retainers, the magistrates, despairing of being able to oppose him, proposed to capitulate. But Melville encouraged them to stand out for their independence. Having assembled the members of the university, he persuaded them to take arms in defence of their brethren, put himself at their head, with a whitespear, the badge of his rectorial office, in his hand, and joined the forces of the town and of some neighbouring gentlemen who went out to meet Dairsie, and gave him such a reception as discouraged him from repeating his turbulent and illegal aggressions \*.

Among his other employments, Melville acted for several years as a ruling elder in the congregation of St. Andrews. It was a matter of importance, at that early period, that kirk-sessions should contain such individuals within their bounds, as, in addition to religious qualifications, possessed superior knowledge and influence. In boroughs, it was the almost invariable custom to have some of the elders chosen from among the magistrates. This circumstance, connected with the nature of the offences usually tried and the punishments decreed against them by the legislature, led to that apparent confounding of the two jurisdictions, which is apt to strike those who happen to look into the ancient records of kirk-sessions as an anomaly, and a contradiction to the principles of the Presbyterian church. At the beginning of the Reformation, the kirk-ses-

\* Melville's Diary, p. 226.



sion of St. Andrews were in the habit of calling in the principal professors of the colleges, and taking their advice, in the decision of the most difficult causes which came before them \*. From experience of the benefit derived from their advice, it came to be the common practice to choose a certain number of elders from the university every year †. Upon the same principle ministers or preachers who happened to reside in the town were taken into the session; and it may startle our southern neighbours to learn, that even archbishops were chosen to be ruling elders, and did not think themselves degraded by occupying an inferior form in the lowest court of the Presbyterian church ‡. The general law of

\* Causes of divorces were tried before the reformed church-courts, previously to the erection of the consistory courts. In the cause *Rantoun* against *Gedde*, the sentence runs in the following terms: "We the minister and seniors of this our Christian cōgregation within the parochin of Sanctandros Judges in the actioun and caus moved—In pns [presence] of Mr. Johne Dowglass rectour of the yniversity of Sanctandros Johne Wynrame Supprior men of singular eruditoun and vnderstanding in the Scriptures and word of God, with Mrs. Williame Skene and Johne Rutherford men of learning in sundry sciences, with quhome we cōmunicatet the secretes of the merits of the said actioun and caus being be ws and them hard and seane," &c. (Record of Kirk Session of St. Andrews, March 21, 1559.)

† The same practice was observed at Glasgow. (Extracts from Records of Kirk Session of Glasgow. *Wodrow's Life of David Weemes*, p. 28, MSS. vol. iii.)

‡ "The names of Eldars and Deaconis chosin vpon ye xii daye of october 1571. Eldars. Mr. Johne Douglas archbishop & rector of Sanctandr. Mr. Thomas Balfour, Mr. John Rutherford, Mr. W<sup>m</sup> Cok, Mr. James Wylkie," &c. (Record of Kirk Session of St. Andrews.) Mr. Robert Wilkie was chosen an elder immediately after he resigned the pastoral inspection of the congregation. (Ib. Jan. 20, 1590.)

the church was, that the elders and deacons should be chosen by the voice of the congregation over which they were placed. But deviations were made from this law at an early period, and in some congregations the formal election was assumed by the session; although the people still retained a right to add to the list or list of nominees, as well as to object to those who were chosen upon "the serving of their edict." The office of an elder in those times was far from being merely nominal. Those who accepted it were bound to give regular attendance on the meetings of session, which were held at least once a-week. The town and parish of St. Andrews was divided into districts, and over each of these a certain number of elders and deacons were appointed as inspectors and visitors, whose duty it was to report to the session on the state of morals and the necessities of the poor. Such elders as were professors appear to have been exempted from this part of duty, in consideration of their academical charge; but they were required to assist the pastors in the examination of the congregation before the communion.\* The session took cognizance of all open violations of the moral law, not only unchastity, but also non-attendance on religious ordinances, profane swearing, sabbath-breaking, undutifulness to parents and other relations, neglect of the education of children, drunkenness, slander, backbiting, and even scolding. In

\* Record of the Kirk Session of St. Andrews, April 16, 1684, and April 9, 1689, compared with the minute of December 5, 1692.

some sessions it was the custom, as a preparation for the communion, to nominate a certain number of elders as arbiters; and such members of the congregation as were at variance with one another, were publicly warned to attend on a particular day, and submit their differences to an extra-judicial decision. And there are examples of their proceeding in certain causes by way of inquest and the nomination of a jury. The session was no less strict in the inspection which it exercised over its own members. At their entrance to office they were sworn to observe the sessional statutes, and a day was annually fixed for administering the *privy censures*, which, at that period, were something more than a form. On that occasion, the ministers, elders, and deacons were removed, one after another; their conduct, both in and out of court, was judged of by the remainder; and each was commended, admonished, or rebuked, as his behaviour was thought to have merited\*.

Melville had been instrumental in procuring for St. Andrews two faithful and laborious ministers, David Black and Robert Wallace. The former of these, in particular, was most indefatigable in the discharge of his pastoral functions, and exerted himself in reviving the ecclesiastical discipline, and in taking care that the different members of his session performed their respective duties in the most efficient manner. By these means he produced, du-

\* See Note GG.

ring the short period of his incumbency, a striking reformation on his people, by checking vice, promoting religious knowledge, and diminishing pauperism. To strengthen the hands of this zealous minister, was one great object which Melville had in view in undertaking the office of an elder, which he accepted in 1591, and continued to hold until Black was forced from St. Andrews\*.

As a member of presbytery, Melville attended and took part in *the weekly exercise*. Two members, according to the order of the roll, delivered each a discourse at the weekly meeting of presbytery. The one explained a passage of Scripture; and the other stated and briefly illustrated the doctrines which it contained; after which the presbytery gave their opinion of the performances. In their form these discourses bore a resemblance to *the Exercise and Addition* in our divinity-halls, and on trials for license and ordination. Such students of divinity as were recommended by their professors were allowed to take part in them, after they had given a satisfactory specimen of their gifts before the presbytery (in what was called) the *private exercise*. A contribution was sometimes levied from

\* Melville's Diary, pp. 215, 237. Baik of the Univ. Kirk, f. 167, a. Record of Kirk Session of St. Andrews, Nov. 11, 1590—Dec. 1596, *passim*. "Erat hic Blackius," (says Calderwood) "et vitæ et sinceræ animi laude omni memoria dignus. Delectus ad Fanum Andreæ Minister, ita Ecclesiam illam administravit, ut in tanto populo (sunt enim plures quam 3000 qui Sacram Cœnam percipiunt) nemo mendicus conspiceretur, nemo Sabbatum auderet violare." (Altare Damasc. p: 751.)

the members to purchase commentaries on those parts of Scripture which were thus explained, for the use of such as were deficient in books; and this laid the foundation, in several instances, of presbytery libraries. In the year 1597, the General Assembly enjoined an additional exercise to presbyteries. Once every month a question relating to some point in divinity controverted by the adversaries of the truth, was substituted for the ordinary subject of presbyterial exercitation. One of the members in his turn discussed the question; after which, he defended his thesis against the objections started by his brethren. The discourse was delivered before the people and in English: the disputation was held in private and in the Latin language. In point of form, our modern *Exegesis* corresponds to this performance. The Presbytery of Aberdeen were considerably later than their brethren of the south in opening this theological palestra, but they appear to have entered very much into the spirit of the exercise; for they agreed that "the head of controversy should be handled every fourteen days," and their minutes inform us, that the brother who took the lead in it "did marvellous." This fact may perhaps help to account for the superior dexterity which the *Doctors of Aberdeen* afterwards attained in the use of controversial weapons, and which they displayed so conspicuously in their celebrated contest with the champions of the covenant. Whatever may be in this, it cannot be doubted that the presbyterial exercises were useful in sharpening the

judgment, and stimulating the ardour of the ministers, and particularly the younger part of them, in their private studies \*.

The exertions made at this time shew, that the fathers of our church, in seeking to substitute presbytery in the room of prelacy, stretched their views beyond the establishment of a mere form of ecclesiastical polity, and that it was their grand object to provide an evangelical ministry which should be efficient for the purposes of diffusing the knowledge and promoting the power of religion. During the period of the Tulchan Episcopacy, a number of persons had been inducted into parishes who were destitute of gifts, or who laboured under other disqualifications. Presbyteries, for some years after their erection, were employed in remedying this evil. The General Assembly repeatedly appointed commissioners to assist in the work ; giving them power, along with the respective presbyteries which they visited, to try all actual ministers, and to suspend or deprive those whom they found unqualified. In consequence of this, several individuals, in different parts of the country, were deposed from the ministerial office ; some were suspended for a time, or translated to more obscure corners ; and others were admonished of their deficiencies and exhorted to give themselves to reading and study. The measure was unquestionably an extraordinary one, and may be blamed by some as an undue and unwarrantable stretch of

\* See Note HH.

authority. But it shews the zeal for the credit and usefulness of their order with which the ministers were at that time animated ; and it will be difficult to prove that the essential end of the pastoral function—the instruction and edification of the people—ought to be sacrificed to forms, or that it should be indefinitely postponed from respect to personal claims which had been irregularly and unjustly acquired during a corrupt administration \*. So far as a judgment can be formed from the records which remain, this delicate trial appears to have been conducted with impartiality, and with all that tenderness to individuals which was consistent with justice to the public.

Melville exerted himself with much success in the plantation of vacant parishes within the bounds of the presbytery of which he was a member. When he first came to St. Andrews there were not above five parishes provided with ministers ; but in the course of a few years the number had increased to sixteen. This object was effected chiefly by his exertions, joined to those of his nephew and Black †. Spotswood takes no notice of this meritorious service ; but he details with great minuteness the particulars of a dissension which arose in that presbytery on occasion of the settlement of the parish of Leuchars. The presbytery (he says) was divided in opinion as to the candidate most fit for the charge ; Melville being

\* See the authorities brought forward in the last mentioned Note.

† Melville's Diary, pp. 237, 243.

at the head of the one party, and Thomas Buchanan of the other. Impatient of contradiction, and irritated at being left in the minority, Melville made a secession from the majority, and, along with those who supported him, constituted another presbytery in the New College. At the desire of the provincial synod of Fife, the synod of Lothian sent three of their members to compose this disgraceful strife. Melville defended himself by pleading, that the candidate preferred by his opponents was not to be compared with the individual whom he supported, and that votes ought to be weighed and not numbered. And the umpires could find no other way of restoring peace than that of dividing the presbytery into two, and appointing the one to meet at St. Andrews and the other at Cupar\*. It has been shewn by a contemporary writer that the archbishop has misrepresented and grossly exaggerated this affair†. To gain the greater credit to his narrative, after it was contradicted, Spotswood states in his history, that he was himself one of the delegates appointed by the synod of Lothian to reconcile the parties. The minute of that appointment is now before me. It mentions that "a little dissension" had fallen out among the members of the presbytery of St. Andrews, who had agreed to submit the mat-

\* Spotswood's History, p. 386.

† Calderwood, Epist. Philadelphi Vindiciæ: Altare Damasc. p. 722. The tract referred to is an answer to *Refutatio Libelli de Regimine Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*, which Spotswood published in 1690, and in which he first brought forward this accusation against Melville.



ter in dispute to certain brethren belonging to other presbyteries; it specifies the four ministers whom the synod "licentiated" to go to Fife on this business, and also those who were appointed to supply their place during their absence; but Spotswood was none of them, nor does his name occur in the minute \*. It is possible that the archbishop might be present at St. Andrews on the occasion referred to; but it is also possible, that, owing to the multiplicity of secular employments in which he was afterwards involved, his memory deceived him, and that he imagined he had been a witness of what he had only heard by report.

The archbishop does not conceal that he introduced this story, to shew that Melville was incapable of brooking submission to the parity which he had established, and that presbyterian government naturally tends to produce discord and division. But who does not perceive that such a mode of reasoning is inconclusive and weak? Did the archbishop forget the "contention," not unlike that which he describes, between Paul and Barnabas about the choice of a minister, which was "so sharp that they departed asunder the one from the other?" or, would he have pronounced it also "to be ominous, and that the government, which in the beginning did break forth into such schisms, could not long continue?" Wherever affairs are decided by a plu-

\* The Record of the Provincial Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale, October 3, 1592.

ality of voices, a difference of opinion, and consequently opposition, may be expected to arise. In supporting measures which they believe to be conducive to public good, men of honest and independent minds will display a warmth and an earnestness which will appear excessive and intemperate to the lukewarm and temporizing. And as they are men of like passions with others, their zeal will occasionally hurry them beyond the bounds of reason and moderation. But the enlightened friend of a free government will not be moved by objections founded on the partial inconveniences or incidental evils to which it may lead. Though not more in love with discord and contention than other men, he knows that ebullitions of this kind are inseparable from the spirit of liberty, and that they are often productive of good. He is convinced that there is a necessary and honourable, as well as a hateful and ungodly, strife. He is aware, that where all things are decided by the arbitrary will of an individual, dissension and dissent are alike precluded. But he knows also, that this is the harmony and peace which is to be found in the prison and the grave; and he would prefer the disunion and even uproar by which a deliberative assembly is sometimes shaken and convulsed, to the appalling tranquillity and death-like stillness which reigns in the courts of despotism.

Before resuming the narrative of public transactions, it is proper to notice the death of John Erskine, the venerable superintendent of Angus. This

enlightened and public-spirited baron will be remembered as one of the early and most distinguished patrons of literature in Scotland. In the wars against the English, he had displayed his courage and love to the independence of his native country\*. He embarked with great zeal in the struggle for the Reformation; and after the triumph of that cause, served the church first as a superintendent and afterwards as a parochial minister†. If at a later period he suffered himself to be entangled by the politics of the court, and lent the influence of his name to the support of measures injurious to the church, his advanced age and the difficulty of the times may be pleaded as an extenuation of his fault. When incapacitated for active employment, he retained his literary habits, and continued in his closet to pursue the studies connected with the sacred profession to which he had devoted himself‡. His

\* Beague's History of the Compagnes 1548 and 1549, pp. 10, 40, 57—62.

† On the 24th of March, 1574, "Thomas Erskine lauchfull sonne to Johne Erskine of Dwn" was presented to "the personage and vicarage of Dwn."—On the 6th of August, 1575, "Our soureine lord being informed—of his weilbelouit Johne erakine and of his lang travellis in the ministerie w<sup>thin</sup> the kirk of God," presents him to "the personage and vicarage of Dwn—vacand be deceis of M. James Erskine;" and requires the superintendent of Fife to admit him, "seeing it is knawin he is qualifeit." (Register of Present. to Benefices.)

‡ Dedicatory verses to *The Winter Night*, a poem. The dedication is inscribed, "To the right godly worshipfvl and vigilant pastor in Christs kirke, Johne Erskin of Dun.—James Anderson Minister of Collace, wisheth grace," &c. The excellence of this small work certainly does not lie in the poetry; but it went through seven

death took place on the 16th of October, 1592, and in the eighty-second year of his age\*.

ral editions. That of 1599, mentioned by Herbert, I do not consider as the earliest one. I quote from Andro Hart's, printed about 1614. The following is the concluding stanza in the address to Erskine:

I can not dite as thou hast done deserue,  
In Kirk and court, countrey and commonweale  
Carefull the kirk in peace for to preserue:  
In court thy counsell was stout, and true as steele,  
Thy policie decores the country well,  
In planting trees, and building places faire,  
With costly brigs over waters plaines repaire.

The poem itself begins thus:

The winter night I think it long,  
Full long and teugh, while it ouergang  
The winters night I think so long  
Both long and dreigh till day.  
Full long think I the winters night,  
While daye breake up with beams so bright  
And banish darknesse out of sight  
And works of darknesse, Aa.

The winter night that I of meane  
Is not this naturall night I weine,  
That lokes the light of the sunneshine  
And differs from the day.  
But darknesse of our minde it is  
Which hides from us the heavens blisse  
Since Adam first did make the misse  
In paradise that day.

\* Act Buik of the Commissariat of St. And<sup>s</sup> Oct. 26, 1593, and Apr. 19, 1594.—Spotswood fixes his death, by mistake, on the 12th of March, 1594. He also represents him as "leaving behind him a numerous posterity. (Hist. 384.) But his Will mentions only "his son and air and Margaret Erskine his dochter" who were minors, and

The affairs of the kingdom were still in a very unsettled state. His Majesty, after his return from Denmark, had promised to reform his administration, and having assembled the chief barons, exacted from them a pledge that they would lay aside their deadly feuds; but he held the reins of government with such a weak and unsteady hand, that these scenes of lawless disorder were renewed, and murders, accompanied with circumstances of shocking atrocity, were perpetrated with impunity in the very heart of the kingdom \*. He had pledged himself to his Parliament to rule by the advice of his counsellors, and "to suffer none to intervene betwixt his Highness and them in the credit of their offices †." But the spirit of favouritism was too strong in his breast to suffer him to adhere long to this course, and his ablest statesmen found their measures defeated by the secret influence of the companions of his amusements, and of such as had otherwise insinuated themselves into his good graces. Captain James Stewart, who had formerly rendered

whose "tuitioun gyding & keeping" he left to "his weilbelovit spouse Margaret Kaith thair mother."—"The noble and potent Lord Robert Lord Altrie" (probably Mrs. Erskine's brother) was one of their "tutouris testamentaris."

\* Richard Preston of Craigmillar, a gentleman of excellent character, was basely stabbed to death, when he was in the act of giving alms to his murderer, David Edmonston, who had accosted him under the disguise of a pauper. (Simsoni Annales, p. 62.) The Records of the Presbytery of Edinburgh at this period furnish examples of a similar kind.

† Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 562.

himself so hateful to the nation under the name of Earl of Arran, presumed at this time to present himself in the palace; and the reception he met with shewed that he still retained a place in his Majesty's affections. With the view of establishing himself at court, and in the hopes of regaining his former station, he applied to the presbytery of Edinburgh, professed great regard for the church, and offered to give satisfaction for any offences which he might formerly have committed. But the presbytery met his advances with the most discouraging coldness, declined receiving his suspicious submissions, and told him that the sincerity of his repentance behoved to be demonstrated by more visible tokens of reformation, and a longer course of trial, before they could indulge a good opinion of his character\*. They at the same time appointed a deputa-

\* The presbytery refused, on the request of his nephew, Lord Ochiltree, to appoint a committee to converse with him in private; upon which he appeared before them. After hearing what he had to say, and informing him that it belonged to the General Assembly to judge of his conduct, "the brethera saurit him that they culd haif na opinion bot euill of him for ocht that zit they saw; and schew that it wald not be woordis bot gude deidis that wald chang thair myndis, and thairfor as they judgit euill of the things that ar past, sua they culd not judg weill of him for the tyme to cum, till they saw alsmeikle of his gud eas they [had] sene of his euill. And thairfore was exhortit that gif thair was ony kind of pieti, ony godlines or religion into him that he suld schaw the fruict thairof be a better repentance nor they had sene, and wtter the effect in gude deidis, quhillk gif he suld doe, as thair is mercie with the Lord, sua the brether wald judg of him according to his warkis, bot in cals he had cum thair for the fassonies sake to insinuatt him self into the bosome of the kirk that thairby he myght creip in the fauour of the prince, and sua mak a counthour of all

tion to wait upon his Majesty, and to warn him against admitting such a dangerous person into his counsels. In consequence of this, Stewart retired in despair of being able to accomplish his purpose. This firmness on the part of the ministers was highly applauded by all who understood the true interests of the nation; but it exposed them to the undisguised resentment of the King\*.

In the latter part of the year 1592, the uncommon activity of trafficking priests within the kingdom, joined to obscure intelligence received from abroad, excited strong suspicions that the popish party were about to renew their treasonable attempts against the public peace. In these circumstances Melville came over to Edinburgh to attend an extraordinary meeting of his brethren. The

to the end that he my accomplishe the rest of the mistereis of his iniquities & euill warkis, Then he was scharpely aduertisit that that God whom he had hitherto mockit, and for that caus had hitherto dejectit him with schame, sua gif he continewit in his mocking that same God sall deiect him and cast him down agane with greater schame & confusioun nor of before." Lest a false report of their proceedings should be given, the presbytery appointed certain of their number to go to the palace, "to inform his matie of the things that wer done, and to schaw that they as zit culd persais na appearance of gude in that man, bot rather that he continewit still in his former pryde, and thairfore desyrit thame to exhort his matie that as he luiffit the weill of the kirk, the weill of countrey, and respectit his awin honour that he suhl geive na countenance nor place to that man to be about him, or haif ony publick charg in this countrey, quhillk gif he did, to protest that the kirk was innocent of all the euill that was able to enew thairupon." (Record of Presbytery of Edinburgh, December 3, 1592.)

\* Cald. iv. 269—271.

precautionary measures suggested by him were unanimously agreed to by this meeting, and carried into effect with the consent of the King. It was agreed to advertise presbyteries of the apparent danger; and to desire them to prepare the well-affected gentlemen within their bounds for resisting it; and with this view to endeavour to compose any feuds or quarrels which might subsist among them. An individual in each presbytery was nominated to collect information from his brethren respecting the secret or open practices of the papists, and to transmit this with the utmost dispatch to a committee which was appointed to sit in Edinburgh during the present emergency, and which was charged to watch *ne quid Ecclesia detrimenti caperet*. The information thus procured was immediately to be communicated to his Majesty and the Privy Council, who were requested to adopt such other measures as were necessary for detecting the conspiracy, and providing for the public safety \*.

The wisdom of these precautions, and the justice of the suspicions which had dictated them, were soon made apparent to all. On the 27th of December, in consequence of secret intelligence which he had received, Andrew Knox, minister of Paisley, accompanied by a number of students from the college of Glasgow, and neighbouring gentlemen, seized George Ker, a doctor of laws and brother of Lord Newbattle, in the island of Cumray, as he was about

\* Melville's Diary, pp. 219—224. Cald. iv. 262—268.



to take ship for Spain. On searching him there were found in his possession letters from certain priests in Scotland, and blanks subscribed and sealed by the Earls of Huntly, Angus, and Errol, with a commission to William Crichton, a Jesuit, to fill up the blanks and address them to the persons for whom they were intended. Graham of Fintry, an associate of Ker, was soon after apprehended and being both examined before the Privy Council, they testified that the signatures to the blanks were genuine, and laid open the nature and extent of the conspiracy. The King of Spain was to have landed thirty thousand men on the west coast of Scotland, part of whom were to invade England, and the remainder, in concert with the forces which the three earls promised to have in readiness, were to suppress the Protestants, and procure the re-establishment, or at least the full toleration, of the Roman Catholic religion in Scotland.\*

James was absent from the capital when this conspiracy was discovered. Having arrived at the urgent entreaties of his Privy Council and the ministers of Edinburgh, he betrayed his characteristic

\* Melville's Diary, pp. 219—225. A Discovery of the secret and traitorous Conspiracy of Scottish Papists, Edinburgh, 1583. This book, which contains the intercepted letters and the confessions of Ker and Graham of Fintry, was published under the direction of the ministers of Edinburgh. (Record of Privy of Edin. May 1st, 1583.) John Davidson, who wrote the Preface to it, recorded, in his Diary, that one of the intercepted letters was suppressed, because it "toucheth the King with knowledge and approbation of the traitorous and promise of abjuration." (Gald. iv. 339.)

weakness and obliquity of mind. Instead of sympathizing with his people, whose feelings had been wound up to a high pitch of alarm and indignation by the recent discovery, and thanking them with frankness for the vigilance and zeal which they had shown in his service, he renewed his petty and provoking complaints as to the encroachments which they had made on his prerogative by their precipitate measures ; as if they had been bound to sit still and suffer themselves to be spoiled of their lives, liberties, and religion, merely because he thought that these were in no danger, or because he chose to neglect his duty and give himself up to idle and frivolous amusements. He found fault with the magistrates of Edinburgh for apprehending the Earl of Angus, who had entered the town without knowing that his treasonable correspondence was discovered. A deputation from the barons and ministers of the church having been sent to congratulate him on his escape from the conspiracy, and to offer him their advice and assistance in bringing the conspirators to justice, he, in a tedious and formal harangue, blamed them for assembling without waiting for his call ; pointed out the difference between the times of the Queen Regent, when the country was under a sovereign addicted to popery, and the present, when they had a protestant king ; and upbraided the ministers, in particular, by saying, that they were not wont to assemble with such alacrity, or in such great numbers, at his call. They replied, that they had the authority of the Privy Council for

their meeting, and that it was not a fit time to stand upon forms, when they saw his person, the church, and commonwealth, brought into extreme jeopardy. Upon being made more fully acquainted with the nature of the plot, however, he professed himself convinced of the magnitude of the danger, promised to pursue the conspirators with all severity, and requested the barons and ministers who were assembled to favour him with their best advice. A proclamation was issued, declaring that Providence had mercifully discovered a dangerous conspiracy, contrived by the crafty practices of pernicious trafficking papists, seminary priests and Jesuits, who had seduced a number of his Majesty's subjects to apostatize from their religion, and to subject their native country to "the slavery and tyranny of that proud nation, which hath made such unlawful and cruel conquests in diverse parts of the world, as well upon Christians as infidels;" and commanding all who loved God, wished well to their Prince, and did not desire to see "their wives, children, and posterity made slaves in souls and bodies to merciless strangers," to abstain from all intercourse with popish priests, under the pain of treason, and to "put themselves in arms by all good means they can, remaining in full readiness to pursue or defend, as they shall be certified by his Majesty or otherwise find the occasion urgent.\*" To remove the suspicions of the nation, which had been raised by the conduct of James, an act of council

\* Bull of Union, 1707, c. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.

was made, prohibiting all from attempting to procure indemnity to the conspirators, and authorising the King's chaplains to exact an oath from his domestics that they should not intercede in their behalf.

Confiding in the faith of the court, all classes now vied in demonstrations of loyalty and patriotism. The gentlemen voluntarily agreed to form themselves into a guard to defend the King's person and preserve the public peace. And a sacred bond, in defence of religion and the government, was everywhere subscribed with the utmost zeal and unanimity. But the hopes of the nation were soon disappointed. Graham of Fintry, the least guilty of the conspirators, was, indeed, executed; but the Earl of Angus and Ker were allowed to escape from prison. James having advanced to Aberdeen, attended by a large body of his faithful subjects, the conspirators concealed themselves, and those whom they sent to intercede for them were received. The Parliament, which met in July 1593, listened to their offers of submission, and rejected the bill of attainder against them, on the pretext of its informality. They were suffered to repossess their castles, and enjoyed every degree of liberty except that

"Quibk was depe," says the Birk of the Universal Kirk, c. 168, a.

† The act of Parliament makes no mention of informality; (Act Parl. Scot. 1593, p. 14.) but a reference is made to it in the proceedings of the subsequent convention; (ib. p. 14.) Spotswood says, their process was remitted to the King and Privy Council, (Hist. p. 397.) but the records are silent on this head.

of appearing in some of the principal towns of the kingdom. This injudicious lenity to persons who had repeatedly conspired against their native country, accompanied, as it was, with a breach of the royal faith, gave universal dissatisfaction, and excited strong suspicions in the breasts of not a few as to the soundness of his Majesty's attachment to the protestant religion\*.

Alarmed at the tendency of this policy, the provincial synod of Fife, which met in September 1593, came to the resolution of excommunicating the four popish noblemen, Huntly, Angus, Errol, and Hume, with their two principal adherents, Sir Patrick Gordon of Auchindown, and Sir James Chisholm of Dundurn†. This sentence was communicated to the other synods, and being unanimously approved and intimated in all the pulpits, contributed to repress the boldness of the conspirators, who, confiding in the royal favour, had begun to behave themselves with extreme audacity. Melville was appointed by his synod to attend a meeting of the gentlemen and burgesses of the county, at Cupar; and measures were taken to have a general meeting held at Edinburgh on the 17th of October, consisting of commissioners from the different counties‡.

\* MS. *Historie of Scotland from 1566 to 1594 under the year 1592*. (This is a copy of the work, a part of which was published by Mr. Telford under the title of *Historie of King James the Sixth*.) Melville's *Diary*, p. 226; *Calh. iv.* 291—292. Bulk of Univ. Kirk, f. 169.

† The grounds upon which this synod considered it as competent for them to proceed to this censure, may be seen in the printed *Calendar*, pp. 220, 221.

‡ See Note II.

James was highly dissatisfied with the excommunication of the popish lords, as tending to counteract his intentions of pardoning them, and he dealt importunately with Robert Bruce to prevent the intimation of the sentence in Edinburgh. - Unable to succeed with the ministers, he had recourse to the most popular of the barons, and endeavoured to gain them over to an approbation of his scheme. In dealing with some of them he urged the necessity of the case, and with others the claims of humanity. Among other arguments, he availed himself of the specious plea of liberty of conscience; a plea which, as applied, was a *felo de se*, and, had it been then acted upon, would have led to the overthrow of liberty, both civil and religious. A curious conversation between him and Lord Hamilton on this subject has been preserved. James paid a visit to Hamilton House, for the purpose of sounding that nobleman's views. He introduced the conversation by saying, that he was confident that he enjoyed the friendship of his lordship, notwithstanding some reports which had been circulated to the contrary. "Ye see, my lord, (continued he) how I am used; and have no man in whom I may trust more than in Huntly. If I receive him, the ministers will cry out that I am an apostate from the religion; if not, I am left desolate." "If he and his associates be not enemies to the religion, (said his lordship) ye may receive them; otherwise, not." "I cannot tell (replied his Majesty) what to make of that, but the ministers hold them for enemies. Always, I would think it good,

that they enjoyed liberty of conscience.\* Upon this Lord Hamilton exclaimed with great fervour, "Sir, then we are all gone! then we are all gone! If there is not another to withstand them, I will!" Alarmed at his earnestness, and perceiving the servants at hand, the King put an end to the conversation by saying with a forced smile, "My lord, I did this to try your mind."† The dissimulation of James was so great, and so frequently practised, as at last to forfeit him the confidence of the most credulous. Before setting out on a journey to the borders, he renewed his promise to the ministers of Edinburgh not to show favour to the conspirators. Yet, on the very day on which he gave this pledge, they were admitted to his presence at Fala, and made arrangements with him respecting their trial. A convention held at Edinburgh a few days after this, appointed commissioners to go to Jedburgh, and lay their representations before his Majesty. They were instructed to complain of his having admitted the popish lords into his presence, to request that the arrangements made respecting their trial, so far as they were calculated to defeat the ends of justice, should be altered; and to inform him that all his faithful subjects were aggrieved at the favour shewn to traitors, and determined to sacrifice their lives sooner than allow the land to be overrun with idolatrous and bloody persons.

\* Cald. iv. 33a.

† The commissioners were James Melville, Patrick Galloway, Nathaniel Marchmont, the sons of Calderwood, and three burgesses.

place. James gave them a very different reception from that which he had lately vouchsafed to the rebels. He challenged the meeting from which they were deputed as unlawful. He inveighed against the synod of Fife for excommunicating the popish lords. He expressed great displeasure at Melville for the active part which he had taken in that affair, at different meetings held in the county of Fife. He alleged that the persons assembled at one of these meetings had entered into a protestation, in which they declared that they would not acknowledge him as their lawful King, unless he adhered to the religion presently professed and punished such as sought to overthrow it; and that they had endeavoured to bring their brethren in the southern part of the kingdom under the same treasonable engagement. And he concluded with threatening that he would call a meeting of Parliament, to chastise the insolence of the ministers and restore the estate of bishops. James Melville, in the name of the commissioners, replied to this royal philippic, and defended his constituents; after which his Majesty grew calmer, returned a fair answer to their petition, and dismissed them with promises that were never to be performed\*.

\* See Gold. iv. 321-322. Melville's Diary, pp. 227, 228. Spotswood's History, pp. 298, 299. MS. History, at supra. Gordon's General History of the Earldom of Sutherland, pp. 222, 223. The last mentioned writer says that it was resolved by the court, in the year 1493, to re-establish episcopacy. Spotswood, in his account of the interview at Jedburgh, says that the commissioners "heavily be-



It is unnecessary to detail all the deceptions and methods taken by the court in the course of this pretended judicial process. The Convention of Estates held at Linlithgow in October 1593, after preparing matters for the acquittal of the conspirators, referred their trial to certain individuals named by them, along with the officers of state, whom they appointed to meet in the following month at Holyrood-house. Melville attended on this occasion as one of the commissioners of the church, and used his wonted freedom in uttering his sentiments. He reproved the King for the manner in which he allowed himself to speak of those who had been the chief instruments of the Reformation and the best friends of his throne, and for the uniform partiality which he had shown to the avowed enemies of both, and particularly to the house of Huntly. He challenged those who advised his Majesty to favour the popish noblemen to come forward and avow themselves as

sought his Majesty to vouchsafe the Assembly some answer in writing, but he absolutely refused, and so they took their leave." (Hist. p. 399.) On the contrary, James Melville, who was present as one of the commissioners, expressly says, "Sa that night delivering our petitiones for what he desired on the morn we gat our answers in great fear and awe, and returned on the shude day." (Melville's Diary, p. 227.)

\* Six ministers were nominated by the Convention of Estates, and allowed to be present at the trial. (Act. Parl. Scot. vol. iv. p. 54.) Gordon states that this nomination was opposed by the church as an encroachment upon her liberties; upon which the King caused their names to be deleted, and ordered that in future the ministers should have no place on such occasions but as supplicants. (General Hist. of the Earldom of Sutherland, p. 222.)

fore the Estates; pledging himself to prove them traiters to the crown and kingdom of Scotland, provided they were made liable to punishment if found guilty, and engaging that, if he failed in his proof, he would himself go to the gibbet. The King and courtiers smiled at his offer, and said that he was more zealous than wise. After his Majesty had made a speech, in which he urged the danger which might arise to the country from proceeding to extremities against the powerful individuals who were accused, the assembly agreed to "the act of abolition" which had been previously drawn up by the counsellors. By this act the popish lords were ordained, according to the offer which they had made, to give satisfaction to the church and embrace the protestant religion, or else to leave the kingdom within a limited time; the process against them was dropped; and they were declared "free and innocent in all time coming" of the crimes laid to their charge, provided they did not for the future enter into any treasonable correspondence with foreigners\*.

This mode of issuing the process was a gross imposition on the nation. No intelligent person believed that the popish lords were sincere in their offers, or that they would comply with the terms prescribed to them. The plain tendency of the measure, and their evident object in agreeing to it, was

\* See *Acts (Park Scot.)* vol. 2, pp. 46-46. *Cald.* (iv) 351-357. *Malville's Diary*, p. 229. *Spotswood*, pp. 200, 201.

to obtain for them an interval of repose to strengthen their party, and to establish their influence at court, that they might renew their intrigues and embroil the country on the first favourable opportunity that occurred. Various reasons may be assigned for James's adopting this line of policy, without having recourse to the supposition that he was secretly inclined to popery. Firstly, the head of the papish party, had great interest at court in consequence of his family alliance with Lennox, the King's favourite, which was increased by the recent marriage of his sister-in-law to the Earl of Mar\*. James was now looking eagerly forward to the English succession, and was desirous of gaining the Roman Catholics, who formed a considerable party in that kingdom; and he conceived a rooted antipathy against Elizabeth. His timidity made him averse to vigorous measures; and he piqued himself on his superior skill in that secret of the art of government which lies in balancing the different parties in the state so as to render them all dependent on the sovereign; although he was destitute of the talents requisite for this delicate task, and could neither poize the scales with judgment nor hold them with a steady and impartial hand. The political principles of the papists were agreeable to James; and the chiefs of the party paid assiduous court to him by flattering his love of power.

\* James was feasting at the marriage of the Earl of Mar when he received information of the discovery of the late conspiracy. (Spence-wood, p. 391.)

and inveighing against the levelling doctrines and republican spirit of the reforming ministers. But from whatever causes it proceeded, it is clear that he had adopted a line of policy which led him to protect and favour a foreign faction, addicted to popery and arbitrary power; while the best friends of the Reformation, who were at the same time the natural and surest friends of a protestant government, became the objects of his jealousy and aversion. This absurd and criminal course he pursued throughout his reign, in spite of all the admonitions which he received; and it was persisted in, with hereditary fatuity, by his successors, who carried on a secret and illicit intercourse with the church of Rome, which issued at length in their laying their triple crown gloriously and irrecoverably at her feet: an example to all British sovereigns who may be tempted to form such an unnatural and unhallowed attachment.

While the country was agitated by this affair, the court was kept in a state of continued and disgraceful alarm by the attempts of the Earl of Bothwell, who repeatedly besieged the palace, and on one occasion, forced his way into the royal presence, and extorted a pardon for his rebellious practices. Inflamed with personal resentment against the Chancellor, he had formerly associated with the popish lords; and availing himself of the odium which the court had incurred by favouring them, he changed sides, and now affected great concern for the preservation of the protestant religion. He was un-

able, however, to make a dupe of more than one of the ministers of the church. The vices of his private character, his known selfishness, versatility, and turbulence, were sufficient to put them on their guard against his loud but hollow professions, even although they had been disposed to abet any hostile attempt against the government\*. But this did not prevent them from being aspersed as favourable to him. With the view of gaining partisans among the people, Bothwell circulated the report, that he acted in concert with the principal preachers; and those who were about the King were either so jealous as to credit the slander, or so politic as to employ it by way of retort to the charge brought against them of countenancing the popish conspirators. In a conference with the magistrates and ministers of Edinburgh, the King complained that Bothwell had been suffered to remain in the capital, and upbraided the ministers for maintaining silence respecting his treasonable conduct, while they were loud in their invectives against Captain Stewart and the popish earls. He charged Bruce in particular with having conspired, along with some of his brethren, to place the crown on Bothwell's head, and with having harboured a traitor who sought the life of his sovereign. The rest of the ministers contented themselves with denying the charge, and appealing to their hearers as to their innocence; but as the accusation against Bruce was

\* Cold. in, 241-246, 271, 294.

Cold. in, 241-246, 271, 294.

specific and more serious, he insisted that he was entitled to know the individuals who had slandered him to his Majesty, and declared that he would not again enter the pulpit until he was legally cleared of the crime imputed to him. After some shifting, James named the Master of Gray and one Tyrie a papist, as his informers. But on the day fixed for investigating the affair, no person appeared to make good the charge; and Gray, having left the court, sent word that he had given no such information against Bruce, and offered to fight any individual, his Majesty excepted, who should affirm that he had defamed that minister\*.

The activity of the Melvilles in thwarting the wishes of the court respecting the popish lords, subjected them to the same odious imputation. It had been the laudable custom of the church of Scotland to make contributions in their different parishes for the relief of their brethren in foreign countries who were persecuted for religion. Since the year 1589, the city of Geneva had been involved in a dangerous war with the Duke of Savoy, which reduced it to the necessity of applying for foreign aid†. Liberal collections were accordingly made for this purpose throughout Scotland. James Melville was collector for the province of Fife, and it was surmised at court, that he had, with the concurrence of his uncle and some other ministers, given the money, intended for Geneva, to Bothwell, to enable him to

\* Cald. iv. 269—272.

† Spon, *Histoire de Genève*, tom. 4. pp. 394—393, edit. 1730.

raise troops to harass the King. Setting aside the acknowledged probity of the individuals accused, the supposition of their having committed such an act of sacrilegious fraud involves the highest improbabilities. Who can believe that Melville, who felt so enthusiastically attached to Geneva, who regarded that city as one of the bulwarks of the Reformation, and who, at the solicitation of his most revered friends in it, had exerted himself to obtain collections for its relief, would have given his consent to rob it of these very succours which were so urgently required to preserve its independence, nay, its very existence as a protestant state? Who can believe that he or his nephew, who was as his own soul, would have done this in behalf of a nobleman of irregular habits and of no principles, with whom, although he courted the friendship of both, their keenest adversaries could not prove that either of them had ever had the slightest political connexion, even for a single day.\*? But James Melville, whose

his own age in the first of the century, and so forth.

\* "About the spring tyme in the yeir following 1594 the outlaw Boduell kythe openlie with forces at Leithe and at Preistfield bot with lyk success as oftentymes befor, he tak vpe men of war in secret vpe and down the countrey and gaiff out that it was at the kirks employment against the papists, whilk maid me being then mickle occupied in publick about tha kirks effaires to be greatly suspected be the king and bak speirit be all meanes, bot it was hard to find quhilk was neuer thought. for I never lyket the man nor haid to do with him directlie or indirectlie. yea efter guld Archibald Erie of Angus when God called to his rest a yeir or twa befor this, I kend him not of the nobilitie in Scotland that I could communicate my mynd with ma publick affaires, let be to haiff a delling with in action." (Melville's Diary, p. 230.)

character was immediately attacked, had direct evidence to produce in defence of his honour, and of the strict fidelity with which he had acted in this business. He had in his possession the receipts granted by those for whom the money with which he had been entrusted was contributed \*; and during his lifetime no individual durst convert the calumnious surmises circulated to his prejudice into a direct and manly charge. In the General Assembly held in May 1594, some members objected to his being nominated as one of the commissioners to the King, on the ground that he had incurred the suspicions of the court as a favourer of Bothwell. His conduct on that occasion was such as became a man who was conscious of innocence, and who felt what was due to his reputation. He told the Assembly, that so far from having courted appointments of that kind, he had often, as they knew, entreated to be excused from them; but, at present, he thought it incumbent upon him to insist that his name should be put on the list, that he might have an

\* After mentioning the liberality with which the people under his charge contributed for the relief of their brethren in France, he says, "The sum of the haill collection quilk the frenche kirkis gat (from Scotland) extendit bot till about x thousand merks, as their acquittances and Letters of thankgiffing beares, quhilk I haiff in custodie deliuerit to me be the generall assemble to translet in Scottes and sent furthe to close the monthes of invyfull slanderers wha giff out that the collection was maid for an yther purpose; as also the Collection maid for Geneva, whar for we gat mair thanks by a letter of Theodore du Bez in the name of the Senat and kirk thairis nor is was all worthe, readie to be product." (Melville's Diary, p. 124.)



opportunity of clearing himself from the slander; and if they declined doing this, he was determined to repair to the palace of his own accord, and to demand an investigation of his conduct. He was accordingly included in the commission \*. After the commissioners had transacted their business with the King, and were about to retire, James Melville rose, and requested to be informed if his Majesty had any thing to lay to his charge, or if he harboured suspicions of his fidelity. The King replied, that he had nothing to say against him more than against the rest, except that he found his name on every commission. James Melville thanked God that this was the case; for in all his public employments he had studied the good of the King as well as that of the church; and if there were any that traduced him to his Majesty as having engaged in secret, unlawful, or undutiful practices, he desired that they would now come forward and shew their faces, when he was present to answer for himself. No reply was made to this challenge. After this the King took him into his cabinet, and, having dismissed his attendants, conversed with him on a variety of topics with the greatest familiarity, sent his special commendations to his uncle, the principal, and declared that he looked upon both of them as faithful and trusty subjects. "So," (says James Melville) "of the strange working of God, I that came to Stirling the traitor, returned to Edinburgh

\* Buik of the Univ. Kirk, f. 171, a.

a great courtier, yea a cabinet counsellor \*." Spotswood had good opportunities of becoming acquainted with this honourable exculpation, and yet after the death of the individual whom he was bound to revere, he embodied, in his History, this slander on his master's memory, not as a report, but as if it had been a well-authenticated fact. And it has been retailed from his time down to the present, as scandal is usually propagated by the prejudiced, the gossiping, and those who have neither patience to examine the grounds of a report, nor sagacity to perceive the most palpable marks of its improbability. The General Assembly, which was held in May 1594, testified its sense of the important public services which Melville had lately performed, by replacing him again in the moderator's chair. Lord Hume, one of the popish noblemen, presented himself at the bar of this Assembly, and made such professions of sorrow for his past conduct as induced the members to agree to his being absolved from the sentence of excommunication, which the synod of Fife had passed against him. From suspicions of the sincerity of these professions, and from the consideration that his former adherents were still in arms, the moderator hesitated to absolve Hume; and the Assembly, after hearing his reasons, excused him, and appointed David Lindsay to supply

\* Melville's Diary, pp. 231, 232. Cald. iv. 371, 389, 390.

† Spotswood's Hist. p. 430. See above, p. 342.

his place in pronouncing the act of absolution\*. This is not the only instance in which we find the ecclesiastical courts at this period paying such deference to the private convictions of their members, and even of those whose province it was to carry their sentences into execution†. Nor does it appear that the practice led to any decidedly bad consequences. Even in the ordinary management of affairs in the best regulated churches, instances will occur in which conscientious individuals may entertain serious scruples as to the lawfulness of particular decisions, and may decline to take an active part in executing them, without being guilty of a contempt of the court, or maintaining a factious opposition to the measures which they condemn. By giving place to such scruples, at the expense of deviating a little from the strict line of ordinary procedure, a court neither testifies its weakness nor compromises its authority: it merely evinces that moderation which becomes a tribunal confessedly subordinate and fallible, and does homage to the sacred rights of conscience and private judgment. Obstinacy and pride will screen themselves under this plea; but it is better that these evils should be overlooked and tolerated, than that the spirit of

\* Melville's Diary, p. 230.

† In 1686, Robert Wilkie, the moderator of the provincial synod of Fife, having declined pronouncing the sentence of excommunication against Archbishop Adamson, the synod appointed one of the members to act for him in that instance. (Printed Calderwood, pp. 201, 203.)

independence should be crushed, that there should be no medium left between absolute submission and endless separation, and that a despotical administration should be grafted on an authority which is immediately conversant about the affairs of the mind and conscience.

The Assembly unanimously ratified the sentence which the synod of Fife had pronounced against the other popish lords. These noblemen had refused to take the benefit of the act of abolition, continued in arms, and persevered in their treasonable correspondence with Spain. To a faithful and spirited exposition of the state of the country which the assembly laid before him, the King returned a very favourable answer. He acknowledged the dangers which they had pointed out, and declared his resolution to adopt the most prompt and decisive measures against the common enemies of the religion and peace of the kingdom. All his desires were most cordially granted by this assembly. They renewed an act of a former assembly, enjoining ministers, under the pain of deposition, not to utter from the pulpit any rash or irreverent speeches against the King or his council \*. They censured a preacher of the name of Ross who had been guilty of this offence. They pronounced the sentence of deposition against the minister of Carnbee, who had taken

\* Some judicious and pertinent remarks on this act, and on the subject to which it relates—the freedom used by the ministers in their sermons, may be seen in Dr. Cook's History of the Church of Scotland, vol. ii. 18—20.

part with Bothwell \*. And they enjoined all ministers to warn the people under their charge not to concur with that turbulent nobleman, or others who might engage in treasonable practices against his Majesty, and not to receive military pay, without the royal warrant, from any individual under the pretext of defending the cause of religion †.

Indeed, there is not the slightest ground for calling in question the loyalty of the ministers of the church, or their decided and steady attachment to the person and government of James. Had he ceased from favouring a faction equally hostile to his crown and the established religion; had he exerted a reasonable superintendence over the administration of the state, and abstained from encroachments on the jurisdiction of the church; and above all, had he maintained his word and promises inviolate, he would have found the ministers disposed to give him all due satisfaction, and might have derived from them the most essential and efficient support. The submission which the nobility yielded to him was always partial and precarious. In the dispute

\* The language employed by James in requesting this may be referred to as an exculpation of the ministers from the charge often brought against them: "3. that they will excommunicat Mr. Andro hunter for bringing in ane scandall upon thair professioun, as the *first* opin traitour of thair functioun agains ane christian king of thair religioun and thair naturall soveraigne." (Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 174, a.) James Melville says that the Presbytery of St. Andrews had previously deposed Hunter. (Diary, p. 231.)

† Buik of the Univ. Kirk, ff. 167—174. Melville's Diary, pp. 230—232. Spotswood, 406.

which soon after arose between him and the Queen, as to the disposal of the person of the young Prince, he was deserted by some of his principal courtiers. His favourites engaged in cabals against him, and Lennox, for whom he had done so much, repeatedly connived at the audacious attempts of Bothwell. The preachers were inclined to favour no faction in the state. The selfishness and avarice of the barons had weaned them from any dependance which they might once have been disposed to place on that order; and there was not at that time a single nobleman to whom they looked up as a protector, or who possessed any considerable share of their confidence. Had their jealousies not been awakened and kept alive by the misconduct of the King, the leading men among them possessed too much sense, and were too well aware that the safety of the church, including their own, depended on the stability of his government, to indulge in or countenance any freedoms from the pulpit that tended to embarrass his administration, or to bring his person into contempt\*. The joint influence of their doctrine and discipline presented to James a powerful instru-

\* Bruce, at the time he was using the greatest freedom in rebuking the court, said: "It is our parts to crave it (wisdom to the King:) becaus for as lous as he is, he is the greatest blessing that ever we shall see." And in another sermon: "Surely the only band temporal that holds up the commonweill here, quhilk is ruinous on all sides, and is like to fall down, stands upon that prince. Suppose he be many wayes abused, out of question an he war removed—I look to see confusion multiplied on confusion." (MS. Notes of Sermons by Robert Bruce: Wodrow's Life of Bruce, p. 14, 15.)

ment, not possessed by any of his predecessors, for suppressing the feuds of the nobility, purifying the administration of justice, and civilizing and reforming the morals of the people. Had he known how to avail himself of this, his reign in Scotland might have been tranquil and happy.

Although the popish noblemen were now in a state of open rebellion, they found advocates in the Parliament which was held in the month of June. Melville was present, and appeared for the church before the Lords of Articles. He urged the adopting of decisive measures against the delinquents as necessary to the security of religion and the peace of the kingdom. "Sir, (said he, addressing the King,) many think it a matter of great weight to overthrow the estate of three so great men. I grant it is so: but yet it is a weightier matter to overthrow, and expel out of the country, three far greater; to wit, true religion, the quietness of the commonwealth, and the prosperous estate of the King. If ye can get us a better commonwealth than our own, (continued he, directing his speech to the lords,) and a better King, we are content that the traitorous lords be spared; otherwise, we desire you to do your duty." He objected, that some who were present and prepared to vote, were excluded by law, and particularly the Prior of Pluscarden. One of the lords said, that the Prior was a man of honourable place, being President of the Court of Session. "More honourable men than he are debarred from a place among the Lords of Articles," replied Melville. The King ac-

knowledgeed that this was true, and promised to attend to the matter. Melville went on to say, that there were other individuals on the Articles who were strongly suspected of partiality in this cause, and of being almost as guilty as those who were under process. The abbots of Kinloss and Inchaffray smiled to each other. "Whom do you mean?" said the King. "One who laughs across the table," replied Melville. "Do you mean me?" said Kinloss. "If you confess yourself guilty, I will not clear you; but I meant Inchaffray." "Mr. Edward, (said his Majesty to Kinloss) that is Judas's question, *Is it I, Master?*" a remark which excited laughter. The majority of the Lords of Articles voted for the forfeiture of the three earls, and their judgment was ratified by Parliament\*.

On the defeat of the Earl of Argyle by the popish lords at Glenlivet, the King set out for the north, at the head of some troops, to oppose the rebels. At his express request, he was accompanied by Melville, his nephew, and two other ministers. Had it not been for their presence, the expedition must have ended disgracefully. The popish chiefs retired into their fastnesses, and the royal forces were ready to disband for want of pay. So great was the distrust of his Majesty's professions, that the nation testified no disposition to raise the supplies necessary to insure the success of an expedition

\* Cald. iv. 392, 393. The Form and Probation of the summonds of treason, p. 398. Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 56—61.



of which they highly approved. In this emergency, James Melville was despatched to the south, with commendatory letters from his brethren, to procure contributions in the principal towns. He had scarcely left the camp, when measures were proposed which would have disgraced his mission, and contradicted the assurances which he was authorized to give in the name of the King. But, after the greater part of the Privy Counsellors had given their opinion that it was not fit to proceed to extremities against the insurgents, Melville reasoned so forcibly against the proposal, and his arguments made such an impression upon the minds of the officers of the army who were present, that his Majesty deemed it prudent to dissent from the majority of his council, and issued immediate orders for throwing down Strathbogie, a castle belonging to the Earl of Huntly. This decisive measure produced the expected effect upon the popish earls, who soon after quitted the kingdom \*.

In the midst of the confusions caused by the rebellion of the popish lords, great joy was diffused through the nation by the birth of an heir to the crown. Melville celebrated that event in an elegant little poem, in which he predicted that the infant prince would unite the crowns of Britain, and humble the pride of Spain and Rome :

*Fastu donec Iberico  
Latè subacto, sub pedibus premas*

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\* Record of Privy Council, Oct. 19, and 28, 1594. Melville's Diary, pp. 232—236. Cald. iv. 402, 407—418.

Clarus triumpho delibuti  
 Geryonis triplicem tiamam.  
 Qua nunc revinctus tempora Cerberus  
 Romanus atra conduplicat face  
 De rupe Tarpeja fragores  
 Tartareos tonitru tremendo.  
 Quo terram inertem, quo mare barbarum,  
 Orcumque, et oras territat ignes  
 Septem, potitus verna sceptris,  
 Et solio, gemini draconis \*.

The poet, however, lived to see his prediction contradicted, and to sing in other strains the premature death of a prince whose rare virtues and talents had excited universal expectation. David Cunningham, bishop of Aberdeen, was employed to celebrate the baptism of Prince Henry; a circumstance which, when compared with what took place at the Coronation of the Queen, may be viewed as indicating that the court had altered its intentions as to the government of the church, and already meditated the gradual restoration of the episcopal order †.

In the course of the year 1595, Melville was involved in trouble through his friendship for David

\* This poem was published under the following title: "*Principis Scoti-Britannorum Natalia. Edinbvrge Excudebat Robertus Waldegrae, Serenissimæ Regiæ Majestatis Typographus. Anno 1594.*" 4to. four leaves. A poem entitled "*Amvletum*" is subjoined to it.

† The Account of the Baptism of Henry Prince of Scotland has been frequently printed. I do not know that the concluding orations of the Bishop were ever published, but they are preserved in MS. in the British Museum: "*Frederici Henrici Principis Scotorum Sacra Lustralia, actore atque auctore Dauide Cuninghame, Episcopo Aberdonensi, celebrata Niueoduni Sterlingorum Septembris 1594.*" (Harl. MSS. 4043, 4044.) They consist of a "*Votum*" in verse, and "*Eu-*

Black. Black had commenced a process against Balfour of Burley, who retained possession of a house in the Abbey which had been assigned as a manse to the minister of St. Andrews\*. Fearing that he would lose his cause, Burley stirred up the court against his prosecutor, whom he accused of reviling the late queen in his sermons. Melville was charged with abetting him in his seditious harangues, and both were summoned before the King at Falkland. At their arrival, Black was brought before an assembly consisting partly of members of the Privy Council, and partly of ministers called together from the neighbouring parishes. He expressed his willingness to give an account of his doctrine for the satisfaction of his Majesty and the individuals present, but objected to being put on his trial before an assembly which was neither civil nor ecclesiastical. His objections were, however, summarily overruled, and the examination of witnesses was already begun, when Melville, suspecting the irregular proceedings which were going on,

charisteria," addressed to the ambassadors, in prose. The former contains the following encomium on the royal parents:

*Sin te exempla sequi juvat aut vestigia regum,  
Nequicquam antiquata petas, quæ occlusa vetustas  
Occulit, ast unum patrem mireris, et unum  
Patrem qui reges tantum super altior omnes,  
Astræos quantum Phœbus super emicat ignes.  
Nec parum matre est, tantaque viragine nasci  
Filia quæ regis conjunxque sororque parensque,  
Sed superans meritis sortem sexumque genusque.*

\* Bulk of Univ. Kirk, f. 176, b.

knocked at the door and was admitted. Having obtained permission to speak on a mode of procedure which tended to prejudge the rights of the church and his own cause, he told his Majesty, what he had often rung in his ears, that though he was the King of Scotland, he was not the King of the church in Scotland; and that there was no court assembled there which had a right to try the cause which he had brought before them. "But," continued he, "if King James the Sixth has any judicature or cause here, it should be to judge, not the faithful servants of Jesus Christ, but (turning to Burley) *this* traitor, who has committed diverse points of high treason against his Majesty's civil laws, by taking his peaceable subjects in the night out of their houses, and resetting in his own house the King's rebels and forfeited enemies." Burley fell on his knees before his Majesty, and craved justice. "Justice!" exclaimed Melville, "would to God you had it! You would not then be here to bring a judgment from Christ upon the King, and thus falsely and unjustly to vex and accuse the faithful servants of God." James attempted to silence him by assuming an air and tone of authority, but the feelings of Melville were wrought up to too high a pitch to suffer him to pay regard to frowns or threats; and his Majesty was fain to allay the heat by addressing the parties in a jocular strain, and telling them, "that they were both little men, and their heart was at their mouth." By this affray the trial was suddenly broken off as it had been

irregularly begun. The affair was at last brought to a happy termination by the wisdom of James Melville, who had been sent for by his uncle to be present on the occasion. He acquainted the Earl of Mar with the real circumstances of the case; set before him the injurious consequences which would arise from a breach between the church and the King, at a time when the court was divided and the country far from being in a settled state; and persuaded him to mitigate his Majesty's resentment, and bring about an accommodation on reasonable terms. The consequence was, that Black, being admitted to a private interview, satisfied the King that he had spoken with great respect of his mother, and touched very gently on the errors of her administration; professed that he had no design of insinuating that the extraordinary measures taken by the nation during her reign should be adopted in the present; and, as his Majesty was afraid that the seditious would put such a construction on his words, promised to abstain for the future from such forms of speech as he had used. Melville too was admitted to an audience, and after free but amicable reasoning with James, was graciously dismissed.

All parties professed to be satisfied with the conduct of James Melville in this affair, but he observed that from this time his credit with the King declined. His object in cultivating the interest which he had at court was to persuade his Majesty that the ministers loved him, and were disposed to please him as far as was consistent with their sense of

duty ; that so the affairs of church and state might be conducted harmoniously, or with as little jarring as possible. His Majesty, on the other hand, was anxious to gain him over to an approbation of the court-measures ; but finding, after an experiment of two years, that he could not detach him from his brethren, he withdrew the marks of regard and confidence with which he had hitherto honoured him. Among those who are to be found in kings' courts few are like-minded with James Melville. He annually expended the half of his stipend on the public service : and as for gifts from the crown, " I sought none, (says he) and I got none unsought \*."

In the end of this year, Melville, along with his nephew and Bruce, visited Lord Thirlstane, the Chancellor, in his castle beside Lauder. His lordship was then on his death-bed, and the conversation which he held with them was highly satisfactory to his visitors. The loss of this able statesman was quickly felt by the nation, and must be viewed as a principal means of bringing on those evils with which the church was soon after assailed †.

The year 1596 is memorable in the history of the church of Scotland. " It had," says James Melville, " a strange variety and mixture ; the beginning thereof with a shew of profit in planting the churches with perpetual local stipends ; the midst

\* Melville's Diary, p. 237—242.

† Ibid. p. 242. Simsoni Annales, p. 73. Spotswood, p. 411. Melville testified his respect for the memory of the Chancellor, in an epitaph. Delitiae Poet. Scot. ii. 116.

of it very comfortable for the exercise of reformation and renewing the covenant ; but the end of it tragical in wasting the Zion of our Jerusalem, the church of Edinburgh, and threatening no less to many of the rest." The first of these measures was defeated by the same cause which had opposed its adoption in every shape since the Reformation \*. The second measure commenced under more favourable auspices, and, though interrupted by the confusions which ensued, was productive of good and lasting effects. It originated with that pious and honest minister of the Gospel, John Davidson †. His mind had for a considerable time been deeply affected with various corruptions in the church. He lamented the inefficacy of the means which had hitherto been used to correct them. He was apprehensive of the consequences which might ensue, if the constancy of ministers and people, in adhering to their religious profession, should be subjected to any severe trial. And he was anxious that a great and general effort should be made to bring about such a reformation as all good men wished to see

\* The plan of providing fixed stipends here referred to was drawn up by Secretary Lindsay, and has been preserved at length by James Melville. (Melville's Diary, p. 244—254.) Those who wish to be acquainted with its provisions may consult Printed Calderwood, (pp. 325—328.) or the more abridged account of it given by Dr. Cook. (Hist. of the Church of Scotland, ii. 55—59.) The *constant plat*, as it was called, became a convenient engine in the hands of the court, who set it in motion whenever they wished the concurrence of the ministers in any of their measures.

† He was admitted minister of Prestonpans on the 7th of January, 1593. (Rec. of the Presb. of Haddington.)

accomplished. Accordingly, he laid a proposal to this purpose before the presbytery of Haddington, who transmitted it, in the form of an overture, to the General Assembly which met at Edinburgh in the month of March. The overture was unanimously approved of by the Assembly; and a writing was immediately drawn up, containing an enumeration of the evils to be reformed, under the four following heads: Corruptions in the persons and lives of ministers of the Gospel; offences in his Majesty's house; the common corruptions of all estates; and offences in the courts of justice. Great moderation was used in specifying the offences of the royal household, and of the civil courts. The ministers did not spare their own order, and that part of the statement which related to them was larger than all the rest taken together\*. On the motion of Melville, the means to be employed for reforming ministers, and the censures to be inflicted on them for particular acts of delinquency, were condescended on. As a primary step to reformation, and according to an approved practice in the best times of the church, the members of Assembly agreed to meet by themselves for the purpose of jointly confessing their sins, and "making promise before the Majesty of God" to amend their conduct. This meeting was

\* Buik of the Univ. Kirk, ff. 178, 179. This record contains the offences of the ministers only; but the entire paper may be seen in Printed Calderwood, pp. 314—320. The following is the only specification of personal vice in the King: "His Maj. is blotted with banning and swearing, which is common to courtiers also."



accordingly held in the Little Church, on Tuesday the 30th of March, 1596. John Davidson, who was chosen to preside on the occasion, preached so much to the conviction of his hearers, and made confession of their sins to Heaven with such devout fervour, that the whole Assembly melted into tears before him; and rising from their seats at his desire, and lifting up their right hands, they renewed their covenant with God, "protesting to walk more warily in their ways, and to be more diligent in their charges." The scene, which continued during three hours, was solemn and affecting beyond any thing that the oldest person present had witnessed\*.

As the greater part of the ministers were not present to join in this sacred action, the General Assembly ordained that it should be repeated in the several provincial synods and presbyteries, and that it should afterwards be extended to congregations. This ordinance was obeyed with an alacrity and ardour which spread from synod to synod, from presbytery to presbytery, and from parish to parish; "the inhabitants of one city saying to another, Come and let us join ourselves to the Lord in a perpetual covenant that shall not be forgotten," until all Scotland, like Judah of old, "rejoiced at the oath †." Nowhere was the service performed

\* Buik of the Univ. Kirk, ff. 178, 179. Melville's Diary, p. 261. Cald. v. 47—49.

† Ibid. Row's Historic, p. 61. The covenant was renewed by the Synod of Fife on the 13th of May (Melville's Diary, p. 262.); by the Presbytery of St. Andrews "upon the penult furiaday of the monethe

with more affecting solemnity than at Dunfermline by the members of the synod of Fife. After they had plighted their faith to God and to one another, James Melville, who had the direction of the exercise, called up some of the most judicious members to address the assembly. David Ferguson, the oldest minister of the church, rose and gave an account of the first planting of the reformed church in Scotland. He was one of six individuals, (he said) who engaged in that work, when the name of stipend was unknown, when they had to encounter the united opposition of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, and could scarcely reckon on the countenance and support of a single person of rank and worldly estimation : yet they firmly and fearlessly persevered, and Providence crowned their labours with success. Davidson, who was present by appointment of the General Assembly, said that the opposite emotions by which the Jewish convocation was agitated at the founding of the second temple, were at that moment blended in his soul : he rejoiced at what he saw that day, but he was at the same time filled with sadness when he reflected how far he and

of July" (ib. 268) ; by the congregation of Kilrinny on the 5th of September (ib. p. 271.) ; and by the congregation of Anstruther soon after : " We thot meet to enter in tryell of ourselves for the better preparation to the covenant and Lordes supper." (Rec. of Kirk Session of Anstruther, Sept. 5, 1596.) James Melville laments that the ministers of Edinburgh omitted this exercise in their congregations. (Diary, p. 274.) If they did so, the presbytery cannot be blamed for the omission : " It is concluditt, according to the act of the Generall Assemblie, a covenant salbe renewitt in all the boundis of this presbiterie, and that upon the vii of October next." (Rec. of Presbytery of Edinburgh, Sept. 21, 1596.)

his brethren had degenerated from the godliness, zeal, gravity, love, courage, and painfulness, which shone in the first reformers, and which he had witnessed in his youth. Melville, at the moderator's desire, delivered the concluding address. In warning his brethren against defection and breach of covenant, he put them in mind of the humbling example of human frailty which had been given in the year 1584, when the greater part of the ministers, after swearing the national covenant, were induced, by the mere dread of losing their stipends, to ratify by their subscription those acts which subverted the liberties and whole discipline of the church. "What should be looked for, then, (said he) if the Spaniards, who have lately taken Calais, from which in a few hours they might easily transport themselves to this island, yea, into our own frith, should essay our constancy with the fine and exquisite torments of their Inquisition; a piece of service upon which our excommunicated and forfeited ears are attending?"

The satisfaction felt in this exercise was like a gleam of sunshine before a storm; and the principal persons engaged in it were soon after involved in a severe conflict, attended with a train of consequences distressing to them and disastrous to the church. The ministers were informed, by letters from their friends abroad, of the active exertions which the Scottish priests were making on the Continent against their native country †. The King of Spain again threat-

\* Melville's Diary, pp. 261—267.

† Letter from Augsburgh, April 27, 1584, by Mr. D. Anderson; in the Appendix.

ened the invasion of Britain. Elizabeth had put her kingdom in a posture of defence to meet the meditated attack \*. James was fully apprized, by intercepted letters, of the treasonable correspondences which the popish lords continued to hold with Spain, and of the plans which they had suggested for getting possession of the principal ports in Scotland †. He had made this information public by repeated proclamations ; had given orders for military musters and reviews in the several counties ; and had urged the ministers to exhort their people to take arms, and to assist him in raising supplies, to repel the intended invasion ‡. In these circumstances the nation was thrown into a state of alarm and confusion by the news that the popish lords had secretly entered the kingdom. James protested that they had come without his consent or knowledge ; but this, instead of relieving men's minds, placed them in the most distressing dilemma. If they disbelieved his Majesty's asseveration, what confidence

\* Cald. iv. 448.

† Printed Calderwood, pp. 363, 372.

‡ " Being surlie informit that the foraine preparatiouns threatit of lang tyme for prosecution of that detestable conspiracie against christ and his evangill ar presentlie in readines and intendis to arraye in this Iland—Quairfoir his Maiestie with aduise of the lordis of his secret counsell ordains and comandis as alsua effectiuallie requirith all ministers of Godis wordis and presbitaries wthin this realm Birmanstie to travail w<sup>th</sup> all his hienes subjectis of all estatie—to convene in armes with his Maiestie his lieutenantis or commissionaris," &c. (Record of Privy Council, Nov. 4, 1595.) Proclamations for arming and weapon-hawking in which language equally strong, and even more alarming, is used, are contained in the Council Minutes of 2d of December, the 4th of February, and the 11th of March.

could they have in any thing that he said or did? If they gave credit to it, what could they think but that the noblemen, in coming home, must have received assurances of aid, both domestic and foreign, to enable them to set at defiance the royal authority? The state of matters was now much altered from what it had formerly been, when the prime minister was decidedly favourable to the interests of religion and the church. Since the death of the Chancellor, the administration of affairs had been entrusted to eight individuals, commonly called *Octavians*; the greater part of whom, including the Lord President and the King's Advocate, were either known or suspected Papists. That they were privy to the return of the forfeited noblemen, could scarce admit of a doubt; that their interest would be used to procure for them an indemnity and admittance to his Majesty's counsels, there was the strongest reason to suspect. In that case, the days of Lennox and Arran would return; and the religion and lives of the Protestants would be exposed to the most imminent hazard. Such were the apprehensions entertained by the nation. Their fears might be too highly raised; but none who attends to all the circumstances will pronounce them groundless, or wonder that the preachers should have exerted their utmost influence to avert the dangers with which they saw themselves and the country threatened.

Soon after his arrival in the country, Huntly sent an offer of submission for himself and his associates; and an extraordinary meeting of the Privy Council was summoned at Falkland to take his proposals



into consideration \*. Certain ministers whom the court judged more complying than the rest were desired to be present at this meeting, to give their advice. Though not invited, Melville judged it his duty to attend as one of the Commissioners of the General Assembly. On hearing of his arrival, the King sent a messenger to know his errand, and to charge him to depart; but he excused himself from complying with this private mandate, by pleading the public commission which he had received. When he made his appearance along with his brethren, the King asked him, what call he had to be there: "Sir," replied he, "I have a call from Christ and his church, who have a special interest in this convention; and I charge you and your estates in their name, that you favour not their enemies, nor go about to make citizens of those who have traitorously sought to betray their country to the cruel Spaniard, to the overthrow of Christ's kingdom." Being interrupted by his Majesty, and ordered to remove, he retired, thanking God that he had enjoyed an opportunity of exonerating his conscience. Encouraged by his boldness, the other ministers resisted the proposals of the court; but, in the end, as James Melville acknowledges, they were induced to relax in their opposition. The President made a plausible speech, in which he defended the policy of calling home the exiled noblemen, lest, like Coriolanus and Themistocles, they should join the enemies of their country. And the council agreed, that al-

\* Errol did not return till September.

though the propositions made by Huntly were too general, yet he might be restored upon his acceding to such conditions as the King and Privy Council should prescribe \*. This agreement having given general offence, his Majesty took an early opportunity of declaring that he did not mean to act upon it. The presbytery of Edinburgh voted him an address of thanks for this declaration, and the persons who presented it received from his own mouth the strongest assurances that he would adhere to the determination which he had avowed †. Understanding that a Convention of Estates was to be held at Dunfermline to deliberate on the affair, the presbytery sent two of their members to request that the royal promise made to them should be kept; but their petition was disregarded, and the resolution taken at Falkland was approved of and ratified ‡.

In consequence of this the commissioners of the General Assembly, assisted by some public spirited gentlemen, met at Cupar in Fife; and being assured by the royal chaplains that his Majesty was not privy to the return of the popish lords, they appointed a deputation to go to Falkland, and exhort him to prevent the evil consequences which would ensue from the measures which his council were pursuing. The deputies were admitted to a private audience of the King. They had agreed that James Melville should be their spokesman on account of

\* Record of Privy Council, August 12, 1696. Melville's Diary, p. 275.

† Records of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, volume Aug<sup>o</sup> 1696.

‡ Ibid. 28 Sept. 1696. Act. Parl. Scot. iv 106. *Journal of the*

the courteousness of his address, and the superior degree of respect which his Majesty had uniformly expressed for him. But he had scarcely begun to speak, when the King interrupted him, and in a tone of irritation challenged the meeting held at Cupar as illegal and seditious, and accused them of infusing unreasonable and unfounded fears into the minds of the people. James Melville was preparing to reply in his mild manner, when his uncle, unable to restrain himself, or judging that the occasion called for a different style, stepped forward and addressed the King. His Majesty testified the strongest reluctance to listen to his discourse, and summoned up all his authority to silence him; but Melville persevered, and taking hold of the sleeve of the King's gown in his fervour, and calling him *God's silly vassal*, he proceeded to address him in the following strain, perhaps the most singular, in point of freedom, that ever saluted royal ears, or that ever proceeded from the mouth of a loyal subject, who would have spilt the last drop of his blood in defence of the person and honour of his prince. "Sir, we will always humbly reverence your Majesty in public; but since we have this occasion to be with your Majesty in private, and since you are brought in extreme danger both of your life and crown, and along with you the country and the church of God are like to go to wreck, for not telling you the truth and giving you faithful counsel, we must discharge our duty, or else be traitors both to Christ and you. Therefore, Sir, as diverse times before I have told you, so now again I must tell you, there are two kings and two



kingdoms in Scotland : there is King James the head of this commonwealth, and there is Christ Jesus the King of the church, whose subject James the Sixth is, and of whose kingdom he is not a king, nor a lord, nor a head, but a member. Sir, those whom Christ has called and commanded to watch over his church, have power and authority from him to govern his spiritual kingdom both jointly and severally ; the which no Christian king or prince should control and discharge, but fortify and assist ; otherwise they are not faithful subjects of Christ and members of his church. We will yield to you your place, and give you all due obedience ; but again I say, you are not the head of the church : you cannot give us that eternal life which we seek for even in this world, and you cannot deprive us of it. Permit us then freely to meet in the name of Christ, and to attend to the interests of that church of which you are the chief member. Sir, when you were in your swaddling-clothes, Christ Jesus reigned freely in this land in spite of all his enemies : his officers and ministers convened and assembled for the ruling and welfare of his church, which was ever for your welfare, defence, and preservation, when these same enemies were seeking your destruction and cutting off. Their assemblies since that time continually have been terrible to these enemies and most steady to you. And now, when there is more than extreme necessity for the continuance and discharge of that duty, will you (drawn to your own destruction by a devilish and most pernicious counsel) begin to hinder and dishearten Christ's servants and

your most faithful subjects, quarrelling them for their convening and the care they have of their duty to Christ and you, when you should rather commend and countenance them, as the godly kings and emperors did? The wisdom of your counsel, which I call devilish, is this, that ye must be served by all sorts of men, to come to your purpose and grandeur, Jew and Gentile, Papist and Protestant; and because the Protestants and ministers of Scotland are over strong and control the King, they must be weakened and brought low by stirring up a party against them, and, the King being equal and indifferent, both shall be fain to flee to him. But, Sir, if God's wisdom be the only true wisdom, this will prove mere and mad folly; his curse cannot, but light upon it; in seeking both ye shall lose both; whereas in cleaving uprightly to God, his true servants would be your sure friends, and he would compel the rest counterfeitly and lyingly to give over themselves and serve you." During the delivery of this confounding speech his Majesty's passion subsided. On recovering from the surprise into which he was thrown, along with all who were present, he repeated his asseverations, that he had no previous knowledge of the return of the popish lords, and pledged his word, that the proposals which they had been allowed to make should not be received till they left the kingdom, and that, even then, he would shew them no favour before they satisfied the church\*.

\* Melville's Diary, pp. 276—278. Epist. Philadelphi Vindicte: Altare Damasc. pp. 754, 755.

But "the church got only words and promises; her enemies got the deed and effect \*." The design of restoring the popish noblemen was persevered in; the Countess of Huntly was invited by the King to the baptism of his daughter Elizabeth; and Lady Livingston, an adherent to the Roman Catholic religion, was appointed to have the care of the person of the young princess. Upon this the presbytery of Edinburgh, at the desire of their brethren in Fife, called together the commissioners of the General Assembly †. They, with the advice of deputies from the different synods, drew up a representation of the dangers of the country, and of the measures best calculated for averting them. This was transmitted to every presbytery. It proposed that the sentence of excommunication against the popish lords should be intimated anew; and that a certain number of ministers from the different quarters of the kingdom, should sit at Edinburgh, during the present crisis, as an ordinary council of the church, to receive information, and to convoke, if they should see cause, a meeting of the General Assembly.

Despairing of being able to overcome the resistance of the ministers of the church to the scheme which it was bent on accomplishing, the court resolved to put them on their own defence, by attack-

\* This was the saying of Patrick Galloway, one of the ministers of the King's house; at which James was so much offended, that he refused for a considerable time to admit him into his presence. (Printed Calderwood, p. 336.)

† Record of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, 5th October, 1668.

ing their privileges. This was first ascertained by the commissioners on the 9th of November, at an interview which they had requested with the King for the purpose of removing the jealousies which had arisen between them. On that occasion, his Majesty told them that there could be no agreement between him and them, till the marches of their jurisdiction were rid, and unless the following points were conceded to him: That the preachers should not introduce matters of state into their sermons; that the General Assembly should not be convened without his authority and special command; that nothing done in it should be held valid until ratified by him in the same manner as acts of Parliament; and that none of the church-courts should take cognizance of any offence which was punishable by the criminal law of the country. If, after this declaration, any doubt as to the intentions of the court still remained on the minds of the ministers, it was removed by the information, that David Black had been served with a summons to answer before the Privy Council for certain expressions used by him in his sermons. Satisfied that the overthrow of their liberties was aimed at, the commissioners resolved on making a firm and united resistance to this premeditated attack. They wrote to the several presbyteries to put them on their guard against any attempts that might be made to disunite them; they exhorted them to turn their attention particularly to those points which were likely to become the subjects of controversy; and they appointed certain in-

dividuals to make a collection of all the acts of Privy Council and Parliament which had been made in favour of the liberties and discipline of the church. Having in vain used means to prevail on the King to desist from the prosecution of Black, the commissioners, after deliberation, agreed that the rights of the church were inseparably connected with his cause, and advised him to decline the judgment of the Privy Council as incompetent to decide at first instance on the accusation brought against him. A declinature having been drawn up in this form, it was sent through the presbyteries, and subscribed in a very short time by upwards of three hundred ministers. The contest between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities now became open; each had recourse to its own weapons in defence of its claims; and high and strong measures were taken on both sides.

According to Spotswood's representation, it was chiefly through the persuasions of Melville that the commissioners of the church were induced to make a common cause with Black. He adds, that, when it was proposed to give in a declinature, "this was held a dangerous course, and earnestly dissuaded by some few, but they were cried down by the greater number\*." I have no doubt that Melville joined in advising this step. His friendship for Black, his conviction of the innocence of his friend, and his having formerly adopted the same course when

\* Spotswood's History, pp. 420, 421.

a similar charge was brought against himself, put this beyond all reasonable doubt. But that there was any thing like an opposition among the ministers to the course which was taken, I have seen no good reason to believe. The fact is, that there never was more unanimity in the church than was displayed in this cause. All seemed to be animated with the same sentiment as to the dangerous tendency of the encroachments of the court, and the necessity of resisting them. Rollock, Lindsay, and Buchanan, who were most distinguished for moderation, and Gladstones, Nicolson, and Galloway, who were afterwards most active in advancing the views of the King, testified the greatest zeal and forwardness in defence of the rights of the church on the present occasion\*.

It is commonly taken for granted, even by those who are favourable to the cause of the ministers, that during the disputes between the King and the church respecting the popish noblemen, Black preached a sermon in which he used a number of freedoms with the royal family, the counsellors, and judges, which, to say the least, were very unseasonable, and afforded the court a handle against him and his brethren†. But this is not a correct view

\* Spotswood's Hist. pp. 423—430. Printed Cald. pp. 333—336.

† Spotswood says, "Whilst things thus past betwixt the King and the church, a new occasion of trouble was presented by Mr. David Blake, one of the ministers of St. Andrews, who had in one of his sermons cast forth diverse speeches full of spight against the King, the Queen, the Lords of Council and Session, and amongst the rest had

of the case. Black was summoned *super inquisitione*; and when, at his appearance before the Privy Council on the 10th of November, he objected to this mode of procedure as inquisitorial and illegal, he was told, and told for the first time, that the general charge was restricted to the particular one contained in a letter from the English ambassador, complaining of liberties which had been taken with the character of his mistress\*. His summons bore that he was to be examined, not concerning alleged treasonable or seditious language, but "touching certain undecent and uncomely speeches uttered by him in diverse his sermons made in St. Andrews †." So trivial were the delations, or so suspicious the channels through which they came, that his Majesty professed to the commissioners, that "he did not think much of that matter; only they should cause him appear and take some course for pacifying the English ambassador: but take heed (said he) that you do not decline the judicatory; for if you do, it will be worse than any thing that has yet fallen out ‡." Black gave an explanation which satisfied Bowes, the English ambassador, who had been pushed on to complain of him §. But, instead of dropping the process, the court served Black with a new

called the Queen of England an Atheist, a Woman of no religion." (Hist. p. 490.) The minutes of the Privy Council, to which the archbishop had access, do not warrant this statement.

\* See the minute of the Privy Council, in Note KK.

† Ibid.

‡ Spotswood, p. 491.

§ Moyse's Memoirs, p. 246.

libel, containing articles of charge which had been collected since his former appearance, and which related to his sermons and conduct during the three preceding years. In short, it appears from the whole proceedings, that the offence was not offered, but eagerly sought; and that "the process against Mr. Black was but a policy to divert the ministers from prosecuting their suit against the popish earls \*." The accusations in the second libel were odious; but, although it is probable that he had used expressions which gave some occasion for them, there can be little doubt that his language was wrested and his meaning misrepresented. At his appearance, he protested that the charges were utterly false and calumnious, and had been devised by informers who were filled with resentment against him for bringing them under church censure for their faults †. He produced, in support of his innocence, the testimonials of the provost ‡, bailies, and council of St. Andrews, and of the rector, dean of faculty, professors, and regents of the university. He declared his readiness to submit immediately to the trial of the Privy Council on that article of the libel which charged him with having raised companies of armed men in June 1594. And he requested that

\* Spotswood, p. 421.

† The principal informer was John Rutherford, minister of Kilconquhar, whom Black had prosecuted before the presbytery for non-residence. (Altare Damasc. p. 425. Crawford's MS. History of the Church of Scotland, vol. i. p. 193.)

‡ The laird of Dairsie, who could not be suspected of partiality for Black, was at that time provost.



the other articles should be remitted to the presbytery of his bounds, to which, and not to the Privy Council, it belonged to judge, in the first instance, of the doctrines which he had delivered from the pulpit. On the 30th of November, the day fixed for hearing his cause, Black was assisted in his defence by Pont and Bruce. The council rejected the declinature, and, disregarding the testimonials which he produced in his favour, proceeded to sustain themselves judges of the whole libel; upon which Black refused to plead. At a subsequent diet they found all the charges against him proved, and sentenced him to be confined beyond the North Water, until his Majesty resolved what farther punishment should be inflicted on him \*.

I have already inquired at some length into the merits of this question, which had formerly been the subject of litigation between the church and the court †. It is common to censure the ministers for imprudence in entering with so much warmth into Black's defence, when they were involved in another dispute with the King. But from the preceding statement it appears that they were forced into it. Besides, the question respecting the liberty of the pulpit, considered in all its bearings, was of more importance than that which related to the popish lords. These noblemen, if restored, might have dis-

\* See Note KK. Cotton MSS. Cal. D. ii. 96. Spotswood, 424—427. A full account of the proceedings in this affair is given in Printed Calderwood, pp. 345—356.

† See above, pp. 205, 217.

tracted the country, but they would not have been permitted to ruin it, so long as the preachers were allowed to retain their wonted freedom of speech. A law which would have had the effect of restraining the ministers of Edinburgh alone from expressing any opinion on matters of state, was more to be dreaded at that time than the presence of ten thousand armed Spaniards in the heart of Scotland. The question was important in another point of view. The indefinite restraint of public rebukes and censures of immorality, at least so far as concerned all who had any connexion with the court, was ultimately aimed at\*. Persons may declaim at their pleasure on the insufferable license in which the preachers indulged; but it will be found, on examination, that the discouragement of vice and impiety, the checking of the most crying abuses in the administration of justice, and the preserving of common peace and order in the country, depended upon the freedom of the pulpit, to a degree which no one who is not intimately acquainted with the state of things at that period can conceive†.

\* "Because impiety dare not be yet so impudent to crave in expresse terms that sinne be not rebuked, (say the commissioners of the church,) it is sought only that his Majesty and Council be acknowledged judges in matters civil and criminal, treasonable and seditious, which shall be found uttered by any minister in his doctrine; thinking to draw the rebuke of sinne, in the King, counsell, or their proceedings, under the name of one of these crimes." (Printed Calderwood, p. 362.)

† The author of a letter, which was given in to the palace under the fictitious name of the Minister of Kilconquhar, and which fretted James exceedingly, says, "Had not the discipline of the kirk been

I cannot refrain from quoting here the following energetic, and, I must say, affecting passage, which no person can read without feeling that he reads the heart of the writers. It is taken from an address which the commissioners of the church presented to the King and council on the morning of Black's trial. "We are compelled, for clearing of our ministry from all suspicion of such unnatural affection and offices towards your Majesty and the state of your Majesty's country, to call that great Judge who searcheth the hearts, and shall give recompense to every one conform to the secret thought thereof, to be judge betwixt us and the authors of all these malicious calumnies. Before his tribunal we protest, that we always bare, now bear, and shall bear, God willing, to our life's end, as loyal affection to your Majesty as any of your Majesty's best subjects within your Majesty's realm, of whatsoever degree; and according to our power and calling shall be, by the grace of God, as ready to procure and maintain your Majesty's welfare, peace, and advancement, as any of the best-affectioned whatsoever. We call your Majesty's own heart to record, whether you have not found it so in effect in your

more reverently and better executed than the civill policy was these years bygane, the countrie had been cast in a barbarous confusion. Sir, wise men would have your Majesty to ponder that saying, 1 Tim. iii. 5. 'If anie man cannot rule his own house, how shall he care for the Kirk of God?' And wise men think and say, that had the ministers winked and been silent att mens proceedings, and suffered you to runne from tyme to tyme your intended course, the crowne long er now had not been on your head." (Cald. v. 157, 161, 165.)

Majesty's straits; and if your Majesty be not persuaded to find the like of us all, if it fall out that your Majesty have occasion in these difficulties to have the trial of the affection of your subjects again. Whatsoever we have uttered, either in our doctrine or in other actions toward your Majesty, it hath proceeded of a zealous affection toward your Majesty's welfare above all things next to the honour of God, as we protest; choosing rather by the liberty of our admonitions to hazard ourselves, than by our silence to suffer your Majesty to draw on the guiltiness of any sin that might involve your Majesty in the wrath and judgment of God. In respect whereof we most humbly beseech your Majesty so to esteem of us and our proceedings as tending always, in great sincerity of our hearts, to the establishing of religion, the surety of your Majesty's estate and crown, (which we acknowledge to be inseparably joined therewith) and to the common peace and welfare of the whole country. We persuade ourselves that howsoever the first motion of this action might have proceeded upon a purpose of your Majesty to have the limits of the spiritual jurisdiction distinguished from the civil, yet the same is entertained and blown up by the favourers of those that are and shall prove in the end the greatest enemies that either your Majesty or the cause of God can have in this country; thinking thereby to engender such a misliking betwixt your Majesty and the ministry as shall by time take away all farther trust, and in end work a division irreconcilable, wherethrough

your Majesty might be brought to think your greatest friends to be your enemies, and your greatest enemies to be your friends. There is no necessity at this time, nor occasion offered on our part, to insist on the decision of intricate and unprofitable questions and processes ; albeit, by the subtile craft of adversaries of your Majesty's quietness, some absurd and almost incredible suppositions (which the Lord forbid should enter in the hearts of Christians, let be in the hearts of the Lord's messengers) be drawn in and urged importunately at this time, as if the surety and privilege of your Majesty's crown and authority royal depended on the present decision thereof. We most humbly beseech your Majesty to remit the decision thereof to our lawful assembly that might determine thereupon according to the word of God. For, this we protest in the sight of God, according to the light that he hath given us in his truth, that the special cause of the blessing that remaineth and hath remained upon your Majesty and your Majesty's country, since your coronation, hath been and is the liberty which the Gospel hath had within your realm ; and if your Majesty, under whatsoever colour, abridge the same directly or indirectly, the wrath of the Lord shall be kindled against your Majesty and the kingdom, which we, in the name of the Lord Jesus, forwarn you of, that your Majesty's and your council's blood lie not upon us \*." Had James possessed half

\* Printed Calderwood, pp. 344, 345

the wisdom which he laid claim to, he would have perceived that the rights of his crown could be in no danger from the attempts, or from the faithful and affectionate though sometimes officious and rough reproofs, of such men as these: he would have revered their integrity, and been proud of their spirit.

During the process of Black, and after it was brought to a termination, daily communings were held between the court and the ministers, and various proposals were made for removing the variance which had unhappily arisen\*. Different accounts are given of the causes which defeated the success of these proposals; but from what the King had already avowed, and from the whole tenor of his proceedings, there is reason to conclude, that, if the ministers had yielded the point in dispute, the concession would have been followed by additional encroachments on their rights. As it was, the court was determined against any reconciliation which did not imply an absolute submission to its claims on the part of the church. The proposals made by the commissioners were listened to, and hopes of conciliation were held out to them; but when they were flattering themselves that they were on the eve of an amicable arrangement, some new difficulty was started, or some new symptom of hostility manifested†. Find-

\* Calderwood, pp. 348—356; compare Spotswood, pp. 423—427.

† “ In those treatyis with the King (says the English ambassador) the commissioners alwayes returned satisfyed, reporting to the rest that the K. was pleased to enter in calme [conference] and sundry

ing that they had been amused and deceived, the ministers expressed their dissatisfaction from the pulpit; upon which the court had recourse to the most irritating measures. An act of council was passed, ordaining the ministers, before receiving payment of their stipends, to subscribe a bond, in which they promised to submit to the judgment of the King and Privy Council as often as they were accused of seditious or treasonable doctrine. An old act of council was renewed, prohibiting all from uttering, privately or publicly, in sermons or in familiar conferences, any false or slanderous speeches to the reproach or contempt of his Majesty, his council, proceedings, or progenitors, and from meddling with affairs of state, "present, bygone, or to come, under the pain of death;" commanding all magistrates in burghs, and noblemen and gentlemen in country parishes, to interrupt and imprison any preachers whom they should hear uttering such speeches from pulpits; and threatening with the highest pains all those who should hear offences of this kind committed without revealing them \*. At the same time, a proclamation was issued, ordering the commissioners of the General Assembly to leave

particular overtures were layde forth and lyked therin, and as it [seemed] that the same should have been allowed and authorized perfectly by the K. the next day: so that every night a full end and conclusion was looked to." (*Despatches by Robert Bowes*. Edinb. Dec. 14, 1596. Cotton MSS. Calig. D. II. 96.)

\* Record of Privy Council, Dec. 13, 1596. Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 101, 102.

the capital, and declaring the powers which they claimed to be unwarranted and illegal \*.

Melville left Edinburgh, along with the rest of the commissioners, on the 15th of December ; but as the events which followed made great noise, and had an important influence on the affairs of the church, it would be improper to pass them over.

The *Octavians*†, by the rigid economy which they had introduced into the management of the finances, restricted his Majesty from lavishing money upon his private favourites. Irritated at this, the latter, known at that time by the name of *Cubiculars*, or gentlemen of the bed-chamber, were desirous of driving these statesmen from their places, and to accomplish this object they industriously fomented the dissension between the King and the church. They insinuated to the Octavians, that the friends of the ministers were engaged in a plot against their lives. They, at the same time, privately assured the ministers, that the Octavians were the advisers of the return of the popish lords and of the prosecution of Black ; that it was through their influence that the mind of the King was alienated from the church ; and that they intended nothing less than the overthrow of the protestant religion ‡.

On the morning of the 17th of December, 1596, information was conveyed to Bruce, that the Earl of Huntly had been all night in the palace, and that his friends and retainers were at hand, waiting for

\* Record of Privy Council, Dec. 9, 1596.

† See above, p. 388.

‡ Calderwood, v. 127. Spotswood, p. 428.



orders to enter the capital. This communication, which was partly true, excited the more alarm, as a charge had just been given to twenty-four of the most zealous citizens to remove from Edinburgh. It being the day of the weekly sermon, the ministers agreed that the barons and burgesses who were present should be desired to meet in the Little Church, after public worship, to advise on what ought to be done \*. They met accordingly, and deputed two persons from each of the estates to wait on the King, who happened to be then in the Tolbooth with the Lords of Session. Having obtained an audience, Bruce told his Majesty that they were sent to lay before him the dangers which threatened religion. "What dangers see you?" said the King. Bruce mentioned what they had been told as to Huntly. "What have you to do with that?" said his Majesty; "and how durst you convene against my proclamation?" "We dare do more than that," said Lord Lindsay; "and will not suffer religion to be overthrown." Upon this the King retired into an inner apartment, and shut the door upon them. The deputies returned, and made their report to the assembly. During their absence, Cranston, a forward minister, had been reading to the people in the church certain passages from the Bible, and

\* It is not commonly adverted to, that, besides long usage, the ministers had the authority of an express act of Privy Council for calling meetings of this kind. The King was aware of this, and accordingly procured the repeal of that act. But this was not done until the 5th of March, 1597. (Act. Parl. Scot. vol. iv. p. 116; compare Bruce's Apology, in Printed Calderwood, p. 272.)

among the rest the story of Haman and Mordecai. Perceiving that their minds were somewhat moved, Bruce proposed that they should defer the consideration of their grievances, and merely pledge themselves at present to be constant in the profession and defence of their religion. This proposal having been received with acclamation, he besought them, as they regarded the credit of the cause, to be silent and quiet. At this time, an unknown person (supposed to have been an emissary of the Cubiculars) hastily entered the church, exclaiming, *Fy, fy, save yourselves ! the Papists are coming to massacre you !* At the same time a cry was raised in the street, *To arms ! to arms !* Some one exclaimed in the church, *The sword of the Lord and Gideon !* " These are not our weapons," cried Bruce, who attempted to calm the assembly ; but the panic had seized them, and they rushed into the street, where they found a crowd already collected. For a time all was confusion. Some, hearing that their ministers were slain, ran to the church ; others, being told that the King was in danger, flocked to the tolbooth. One or two called for the President and Lord Advocate, that they might take order with them for abusing the King. All accounts that are entitled to any credit agree in stating, that this was the greatest offence that was committed during the uproar. The ministers immediately called in the aid of the magistrates, and, by their joint persuasion, the tumult was speedily quelled. Within less than an hour, not an offen-

sive weapon, nor the least symptom of a disposition to riot, was to be seen on the streets. The barons and ministers resumed their deliberations in the church, and sent Lord Forbes, the laird of Bargeny, and Principal Rollock, to lay their requests before the King, who continued to transact business with the Lords of Session. His Majesty directed them to come to him in the afternoon, when they would have an opportunity of laying their petition before the council; after which he walked down the public street to the palace, attended by his courtiers, with as much quietness and security as he had ever experienced on any former occasion\*.

Such are the facts connected with the tumult of *the seventeenth of December*, which has been related in so many histories and magnified into a daring and horrid rebellion. Had it not been laid hold of by designing politicians as a handle for accomplishing their measures, it would not now have been known that such an event had ever occurred; and

\* Cald. v. 128, 176. Spotswood, pp. 428, 429. James Melville's History of the declining Age of the Church of Scotland, pp. 4, 5. (MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. Rob. iii. 2, 12.) Row's Hist. pp. 64—66. Baillie's Historical Vindication, pp. 68—71. Bishop Guthrie represents the tumult as suppressed by a company of musketeers sent from the castle by the Earl of Mar, and he describes their circuitous march with as much minuteness as if he had accompanied them. (Memoirs, p. 6.) If there was any foundation for this story, it is strange that Spotswood, who was present, should have passed it over. But the blunders which Guthrie has committed in his narrative of this affair are sufficient to discredit his statement, so far as it differs from those of other writers. Calderwood and Spotswood agree in all the material circumstances. Compare Simsoni Annal. p. 76.

were it not that it has been so much misrepresented to the disparagement of the ministers and ecclesiastical polity of Scotland, it would be a waste of time and labour to institute an inquiry into the real state of the facts \*. “No tumult in the world was ever more harmless in the effects, nor more innocent in the causes, if you consider all those who did openly act therein †.” It never was seriously alleged that there was the most distant idea of touching the person of the King. Had there been any intention of laying violent hands on the unpopular statesmen, there was nothing to have prevented the populace, at the commencement of the tumult, from forcing the house in which they were assembled. No assault was made upon the meanest creature belonging to the court: no violence was offered to the person or the property of a single individual. So far from partaking of the nature of a rebellion, the affair scarcely deserves the name of a riot. Nor did it assume the appearance of one of

\* Adrian Damman, the Resident of the States General at the court of Scotland, transmitted a false and exaggerated account of the affair to his constituents. He was not in Scotland when the tumult happened, and it is evident that his information was derived from James and his courtiers, or rather that his letter was written at their desire and dictation. Damman's letter was published in *Epist. Eccles. et Theologicae*, (pp. 35—37, edit. 3<sup>ta</sup>) and the substance of it was afterwards adopted by Brandt. (*History of the Reformation in the Low Countries*, vol. i. p. 457.) Among the writers of this country who were most industrious in circulating calumnies on this head was Bishop Maxwell in his *Isachar's Burden*, reprinted in *Phoenix*, vol. i. pp. 307—309.

† Baillie's *Hist. Vindication*, p. 71.

those dangerous commotions by which the public peace is liable to be disturbed in large towns, and to which a wise government seldom thinks of giving importance, by inquiring narrowly into their origin, or punishing those who, through thoughtlessness or imprudence, may have been led to take part in their excesses.



## NOTES

TO

### VOLUME FIRST.

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#### Note A. p. 2.

*Of the family of the Melvilles.*—The name and family of *Melville* are mentioned in Scottish charters as early as the middle of the twelfth century. It is agreed on all hands that they were of foreign extraction; and the opinion of Mr. Chalmers, that they were of “Anglo-Norman lineage,” is the most probable; although he does not appear to have any good authority for asserting that the first of the family who came to Scotland was called *Male*. (Sibbald’s *Fife*, 390. edit. 1803. *Crawfurd’s Peerage*, 324. *Nisbet’s Heraldry*, edit. 2. App. p. 28. *Chalmers’s Caledonia*, i. 524. ii. 806.)

Next to the principal family in Mid-Lothian, the Melvilles of Glenbervie, hereditary Sheriffs of Kincardine, figure the earliest on record of any of that name. They were mentioned in royal charters, now missing, by David II. and Robert III. (Robertson’s *Index of Charters*, pp. 34, 141.) The family of Dysart were either among the earliest cadets or the eventual male representatives of the Glenbervies. “Johannes Malveyne de Disart” is mentioned Feb. 6, 1457. (Chart. of Arbroath.) David II. on the 6th April of the 30th year of his reign, confirmed a charter, by which “Christiana de Mallavilla domina de Glenbervy” granted “Johanni de Mallavilla consanguineo meo et heredibus suis de corpore suo legitime procreatis has terras in baronia de Glenbervy videlicet *Liegevin*, &c.” (Regist. Davidis Secundi, Lib. i. No. 116.) On the 20th of Jan. 1572, a Charter of Confirmation was ordained to be made, (which passed the Great Seal in the same year,) “Ratificand ye Charter donation and gift in it con-

tenit maid be his lovit Thomas Melville of Dysart to James Melvill of *Liegavin* his sone and apperande air his airis and assignais of all and haill ye landis and baronie of Dysart, &c.—lyand wytin ye Scherifdome of forfare, &c.” (Register of Signatures, vol. iii. fol. 66.) These two charters and the lands of *Liegavin* connect the family of Dysart with the Melvilles of Glenbervy, as their ancestors. It also appears from these, and from other documents, that the lands of *Dysart*, belonging to the Melvilles of that title, lay in Angus, and not in Fyfe, as I was at first inclined to think. That the Melvilles of Baldovy were of the family of Dysart appears from a Charter of Confirmation granted Feb. 9, 1505: “Joanni Melvill de Disart hæredibus suis et assignatis super cartam sibi factam per Joannem Scrymgeor de Bawdovy de data 20 die Januarii 1505 de totis et integris terris suis de *Bawdovy* cum tenentibus jacentibus infra Vicecomitatum de Forfar, &c.” (Great Seal, Lib. xiv. No. 197; comp. Lib. xv. No. 170.)—For these ancient notices of the families of Glenbervy and Dysart I am indebted to John Riddell, Esq. Advocate.

I have said in the text, that the Melvilles claimed affinity to the royal family. The subject of this memoir has alluded to this claim in such a manner as to leave little doubt that he believed its justice, and that he was not altogether devoid of the feelings of family pride. Dr. John Forbes of Corse has preserved a curious extract of a letter which Melville wrote him from Sedan, containing a copy of verses which he had sent to King James from the Tower, and stating that both he and Forbes derived their extraction from *John of Gaunt*. The reader must excuse me from tracing his genealogy to that redoubted prince; but I shall give the passage, as it stands in a note to the dedication of Bishop Forbes's “*Tractatus Apologeticus de legitima vocatione Ministrorum in Ecclesiis Reformatis*: Comment. in Apocalyp. p. 175. Amstel. 1646.” The words in Italics are those of Dr. Forbes.

“*Cognitionis istius via est per M. THOMÆ MICHAELIS consanguinitatem cum clarissimo illo beatæ memoriæ D. ANDREA MELVINO, S. Theologiæ quondam Andrecapoli in Scotia, & postea Sedani ad Mosam, publico professore, qui mihi, Heidelbergæ sacris studiis operam danti, anno Domini 1614. suam mecum & cum nostra familia, & cum Regis etiam domo consanguinitatem, his epistolæ suæ verbis explicabat; ‘Sic enim magno Britanniæ Regi à nobis è Londinensi & Cæsarea arce transmissa habet historica veritas;*

An fraudi, an laudi, quod avito sanguine tangam  
Immortale tuum, Rex Iacobe, genus:

Quod tecum mihi, Quinte, atavus communis utrinque,  
Idem abavi proavus, Sexte, utriusque tui,  
Deliciæ humani generis, gentisque Britannæ :  
Stirps Regum, & radix regni utriusque tui.

Is est Johannes Beaufort, Johannis Gandavensis, qui natus Gandavi, filius, Edvardi tertii nepos, Henrici septimi & Jacobi tertii proavus ; Jacobi quinti tam paternus quàm maternus, atque adeò meus itidem atavus ; Regibus Gallis, Anglis, Scotis oriundus, Scotorum & Anglorum deinceps Regum progenitor ; unde & tu etiam per proavum tuum, avunculum meum, Patricium Forbesium, genus paternum ducis. Vides igitur, mi Forbesi, ut genus amborum findat se sanguine ab uno, eoque regio. Sed absit mihi gloriari, nisi in cruce D. N. J. C. *ὁ ὁ ἰσχυρὸς ἰσχυρότατος, καὶ ἐν τῇ νίκῃ.* Hæc Andreas Melvinus, 17. Aug. 1614."

Note B. p. 3.

*Of the Melvilles of Baldov.*—In a letter to his nephew, Melville mentions the laird of Dysart (Diserti comarchus) as the chief of their branch of the family. (Melvini Epist. p. 294.) "Thomas Lichtoun of Ullischeon with consent of Jhone Lichtoun my son settis and for ferme maill lettis to an hon<sup>l</sup> man Tho<sup>s</sup> Melvill fear of Disart and to Jonet Scrimgeor his spouse the schadw [schadow ?] third of Disert unwadsett.—Subscribed at Montrois 5 March 1594 fourty and twa yeirs before thir witnes hono<sup>l</sup> men Richard Melvill of Baldovy Jhone Ogilvy provest of Montrois Jhone Panter burges of the same Maister Walter Melvill and Schir Jhone Gilbert notar public." (Reg. of Contracts of Commissariat of Sanct And.) The teinds of Baldovy belonged to St. Mary's College : "Baldivy set 12 or 14 years since to David Melvill for 8 lb. 5 s. without grassum." (Royal Visitation of Univ. of S. Andrews, A. 1599.) David Melville having fallen under mental derangement, his brother, James Melville, minister of Kilrinny, was in 1592 appointed tutor to him. (Inquis. de Tutela, num. 1239.) "Feb. 7. 1595. Caus persewit be David Melville burges of Dundie agt David Melville of Baldovie and Mr. Jas Melville his tutor—makand mention that upon 24 April 1586 the said David Melvill of Baldovie became obleist to have payit to Thomas Melvill now callit Mr. Tho<sup>s</sup> Melvill lauchfull sone to umq<sup>l</sup> Tho<sup>s</sup> Melvill of Dysart 100 merks, or an annual rent of 10 merks furth of the lands of Baldovie, &c." (Act Buik of the Commissariat of S. Andrews.)

About the beginning of the seventeenth century, Melville of Bal-



dovy married Helen, daughter of Sir David Lindsay of Edsell, and of Lady Helen Lindsay Crawford. (Douglas's Peerage, i. 165.) Richard Melville was succeeded by Mr. Andrew Melville, proprietor of Baldovy, and minister of Maretoun, who died in 1641. His brother, Mr. Patrick, was served heir to him Dec. 6, 1642. (Inquis. Retorn. *Forfar*, num. 275.) In 1717 the estate became the property of Colonel Scott of Comiston. (Charters *penes* Mr. Carnegie, the present Proprietor.)

Melville always wrote his name *Melvinus* in Latin, and he is often called *Melvin* in English. Hence some have concluded that *Melvin*, and not *Melville*, was his proper name. But they are merely different modes of pronouncing the same family appellation. (Rudd. Index Nom. Propr. adj. Buch. Hist. voc. *Malavillius*. Inquis. De Tutela, num. 714.) Accordingly, we find Lord Melville repeatedly called "the Lord Melven." (Lamond's Diary, 201-2.) The name was corrupted still farther into *Melin*; (Ib. 284-5.) just as *Colville* was pronounced *Colven* or *Colvine*, (Ib. 188, 197. Inquis. Gen. num. 7392.) which in some parts of the country is corrupted still farther into *Colin*. This variety in the appellation occurs in the earliest charters granted by the family, or in which they are mentioned. "*Galafridus de Mailbyn*" grants to the church of Dunfermline "*ecclesiam de Mailbyn*," with common pasture "in villa de *Mailbyn*." In another, "*Galfrius de Malvein*" grants "*ecclesiam de Malevill*;" and in this charter occur the names of "*Willi. de Malevill*" and "*Gregorius de Malevill*." (Registrum Cænobii de Dunfermline, pp. 516, 519. MS. Bibl. Fac. Jur. Edin. See also Sibbald's Fife, 392. edit. 1803.)

Note C. p. 7.

*Grammar Schools and Elementary Books.*—"About the fyft yeir of my age the grace buik was put in my hand, and when I was scivine lyt'e y'of haid I lernit at hame. Therfor my father put my eldest and onlie brother David about a yeir and a haff in age abone me and me togidder to a kinsman and brother in the ministerie of his to scholl, a guid lerned kynd man whome for thankfulness I name, Mr. Wilya Gray minister at Logie Montrose.—There was a guid number of gentle and honest mens berns in the cowntrey about weill treaned vp bathe in letters godlines and exercise of honest geams. Ther we learned to read the catechisme and prayers par ceur also nottes of scripture efter the reiding y'of.—We lerned ther the Rudiments of the Latin Grammair, with the Vocables in Latin and frenche, also

dyvers speitches in frenche, w<sup>t</sup> the reiding and right pronounciation of y<sup>t</sup> tounge. We proceedit fordar to the Etymologie of Lilius and his Syntax, as also a lytle of the Syntax of Linacer, therew<sup>t</sup> was ioyned Hunters Nomenclatura, the minora Colloquia of Erasmus and sum of the Eclogs of Virgill and Epist of Horace. also Cicero his epistles ad Terentiam. he haid a verie guid and profitable form of resoluing the authors he teatched grammaticallie bathe according to the Etymologie and Syntax. bot as for me the trewth was my ingyne and memorie was guid aneuche, bot my iudgmēt and vnderstanding was as yit smored and dark, sa that the thing q<sup>lk</sup> I gat was mair by rat ryme nor knowlage. Ther also we haid the air guid and fields reasonable fear, and be our maister war teatched to handle the bow for archerie, the glub for goff, the batons for fencing, also to rin, to leepe, to swoum, to warsell, to proue pratteiks, everie ane haiffing his matche and andagonist, bathe in our lessons and play. A happie and golden tyme indeede giff our negligence and vnthankfulness haid no<sup>t</sup> moued God to schortene it, partlie be deceying of the number q<sup>lk</sup> caused the maister to weirie, and partlie be a pest q<sup>lk</sup> the Lord for sime and contempt of his Gospell send vpon Montrose distant from o<sup>r</sup> Logie bot twa myles, so y<sup>t</sup> scholl skalled, and we war all send for and brought hame. I was at that scholl the space of almost fyve yeirs." (Melville's Diary, pp. 15, 16.)

"Sa I was put to the scholl of Montrose, finding of God's guid providence my auld mother Mariorie gray, wha parting from hir brother at his marriage had takin vpe hous and scholl for lasses in Montrose. to hir I was welcome again as hir awin sone. The maister of the scholl a learned honest kynd man whom also for thankfulness I name Mr Andro Miln minister at sedness. he was verie skilfull and diligent. the first yeir he causit ws go throw the Rudiments againe, y<sup>e</sup>fter enter and pass throw the first part of Grammer of Sebastian, y<sup>r</sup>w<sup>t</sup> we hard phormionē Terentii, and war exerceisd in composition. Efter y<sup>t</sup> entered to the secund part and hard y<sup>r</sup>at the Georgics of Wirgill and dyvers uther things.—The lard of Done mentioned befor dwelt oft in the town and of his charitie interteined a blind man wha haid a singular guid voice. him he causit the doctor of our scholl teache the wholl Psalmes in miter w<sup>t</sup> the tones y<sup>r</sup>of and sing them in the Kirk, be heiring of whome I was sa delyted y<sup>t</sup> I lernit manie of the Psalmes and toones y<sup>r</sup>of in miter, q<sup>lk</sup> I haiff thought euer sensyne a grait blessing and comfort." (Ib. pp. 19, 20.)

The following paper contains information as to the early elementary books prepared for the Scottish youth.

“ Ane letter maid to maister W<sup>m</sup> Nwdrye his factouris and assignaris Mackand mentioun, That quhair ye said maister Will<sup>m</sup> hes set furth, for ye better instructioun of young chyldrene in ye art of grammar, to be taucht in scholis, diuerse volumes following That is to say Ane schort Introductioun Elementar digestit into sevin breve taiblis for y<sup>e</sup> commodius expeditioun of yame yat ar desirous to read and write the Scottis tounge, Orthoepeia trilinguis, compendiarie latine lingue notæ, Calographiæ index, Tables manuall brevelie introducing y<sup>e</sup> vnioun of y<sup>e</sup> partis of orisoun in greik and latene speichis with their accidencis, Meditationes in gramaticam dispaüterianam, Meditationes in publicum memographum et sapientum dicta, Trilinguis literature Syntaxis, Trilinguis grammaticæ questiones, Ane instructioun for bairnis to be lernit in Scottis and latene, Ane regement for educatioun of zounge gentillmen in literature et virtuous exercitioun, Ane A B C for scottis men to reid the frenche tounge with ane exhortatioun to y<sup>e</sup> noblis of Scotland to fauour yair ald friendis, The geneologie of Ingliche Britonis, Quotidiani Sermonis formulæ, E Pub. Terentii Afri comediis discerpta.”—Special licence granted to him for the sole printing of the above for the space of ten years, &c. At Edinburgh, August 26, 1559. (Register of Privy Seal, Vol. xxx. fol. 5.)

NOTE D. p. 8.

*Ante-Reformation in Scotland.*—Notwithstanding the learned and useful labours of several foreign writers, justice has not yet been done to the history of, what may be called, the ante-reformation. Considering the honour which it does to England, it is surprising that no individual of that nation has attempted accurately to trace the progress of that light which was struck out by Wicliffe, and the influence which his opinions had in exposing established errors, and in exciting and maintaining a spirit of opposition to the abuses of the Church of Rome, both in Britain and on the Continent. What a meagre and uninteresting life have we of the English Proto-Reformer, the most wonderful man of his age, or who had appeared in the world for many centuries! And, since the meritorious labours of the martyrologist Fox, what has been done to connect the exertions of Wicliffe with those of Tindal and Cranmer? although there is scarcely a city in England, I am persuaded, whose records would not furnish an accession to the materials for such a work already deposited in her public libraries.

It is known, from our common histories, that the sentiments taught by Wicliffe were embraced by many respectable families in the south-

west parts of Scotland. (Knox, Hist. 2. Spots. 60.) Before the year 1500, Murdoch Nisbet, being driven from his native country, procured a copy of the New Testament in manuscript (of Wicliffe's translation, no doubt) which on his return he concealed in a vault, and read to his family and acquaintance during the night. This was preserved as a legacy in his family till the end of the seventeenth century. (Life of John Nisbet in Hardhill, p. 3.) Gordon of Earlstoun was an early favourer of the disciples of Wicliffe, and had in his possession a copy of the New Testament in the vulgar language, which was read at meetings held in a wood near to Earlstoun house. (Wodrow, ii. 67.) Some additional particulars respecting these witnesses for truth are contained in a rare poem, by John Davidson : A Memorial of Robert Campbell of Kinyeancleugh and his wife, Elizabeth Campbell. (Edin. 1595.)

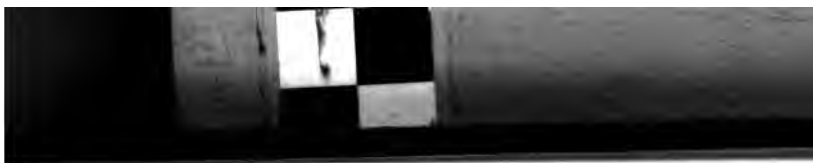
But to be plainer is no skaith,  
 Of surname they were CAMPBELLS baith :  
 Of ancient blood of the Cuntrie  
 They were baith of Genealogie :  
 He of the Shirefs house of AIR  
 Long noble famous and preclair :  
 Scho of a gude and godly stock  
 Came of the old house of CESNOK :  
 Quhais Lard of many yeares bygane,  
 Professed Christs religion plaine :  
 Yea eighty yeares sensyne and mare,  
 As I heard aged men declare :  
 And als a cunning Scottish Clark,  
 Called ALISIUS in a wark  
 Written to JAMES the fifth our king,  
 Dois this man for his purpose bring :  
 Quha being to the scaffold led  
 In Edinburgh to have thold dead,  
 For Christs Evangell quhilk he red,  
 By James the fourth from death was fred :  
 Some sayes death was alswel prepar'd  
 For Priest and Lady as the Lard :  
 This story I could not passe by,  
 Being so well worth memory :  
 Whereby most clearlie we may see,  
 How that the Papists loudly lie :

Who our religion so oft cald  
 A faith but of fiftie yeare ald :  
 When euen in Scotland we may see  
 It hes bene mair than thrise fiftie :  
 As by the storie ye may knaw  
 Of RESHEY burnt before PAUL CRAW  
 The thousand yeare four hundrethe five,  
 In PERTH, while Husse was yet aliue.

(A Memorial, &c. sig. A 6.)

Spotswood says, that John Resby, an Englishman, was "de schola Wicliffi." Petrie, by mistake, says he was "burnt at Glasgow." (Hist. 557.) Paul Craw, burnt at St. Andrews in the year 1432, was a native of Bohemia. (Spots. 56.) At a Congregation of the University of St. Andrews, held on the tenth day of June 1416, it was enacted that all who commenced masters of arts should swear, among other things, that they would resist all adherents of the sect of *Lollards*. "Item Jurabitur quod ecclesiam defendetis contra insultum lollardorum, et quibuscunque eorum secte adherentibus pro posse vestro resistetis." (Rec. of University.)

Some interesting particulars respecting the early state of the reformation in Fifeshire, are given in the second edition of the *Biographia Britannica* from a MS. in the possession of the family to whose ancestor they relate. John Andrew Duncan, a son of the laird of Airdrie, in Fife, was induced by youthful ardour to leave the University of St. Andrews in 1513, along with some of his fellow-students, and to join the standard of James IV. at the head of a few of his father's tenants. He was taken prisoner at the battle of Flowden. Being a young man of gallant appearance, he was treated with indulgence by the Earl of Surrey, and when carried into Yorkshire was suffered to reside at large in the town of Beverley, with Mr. Alexander Burnet, a near relation of his mother. Burnet, who was a zealous Wicliffite, found his young kinsman disposed to listen to his religious principles. A spirit of inquiry, with a passion for exposing to contempt the abuse of reason and religion, had already distinguished young Duncan at St. Andrews. His conversation with Mr. Burnet raised to a degree of enthusiasm the aversion he had before conceived against some of the absurdities of the Church of Rome. Upon the termination of the short contest with England, he returned to his native country; but, having joined the party that opposed the regency of the Duke of Albany, he was soon obliged to return to Beverley. His



friend reproved him for abetting factions in which neither the religion nor liberties of his country had any concern; and having exacted from him a promise that he would reserve his activity for a better cause, gave him his daughter in marriage. When Albany took his final departure into France, Duncan returned to Scotland, and passed about ten years in the enjoyment of domestic tranquillity at Airdrie, and in literary intercourse with the members of the neighbouring University of St. Andrews. The opinions and spirit of the reformers were now more openly avowed, and the house of Airdrie became occasionally the resort of the chief maintainers of the new doctrines. This led him into a particular intimacy with Patrick Hamilton, the protomartyr of the Reformation in Scotland, who was insidiously drawn into a dispute at St. Andrews by the artifices of Beaton, and in 1527 fell a sacrifice to the malice and bigotry of his persecutors. The young laird of Airdrie, who suspected the event, and had been himself threatened, armed and mounted about a score of his tenants and servants, intending to enter St. Andrews by night, most probably with the view of rescuing his friend, and carrying him off to some place of safety. But his small party was surrounded, and himself apprehended by a troop of horsemen, commanded by Patrick Duncanson, a gentleman of Angus, who had married his sister. It is doubtful whether Duncanson engaged in this enterprise from a desire to preserve the life of his brother-in-law, or to obtain his property, which Duncan, being forced to leave the country, made over to his sister's children. (Biog. Brit. v. 492.)

Such is the account given in the Biographia, on the authority of the MS. history of the family. I have reason to think that some of the particulars are not correctly stated. It is said that Mark Duncan, doctor of medicine and professor of philosophy at Saumur in the beginning of the 17th century, was the grandson of John Andrew Duncan, and was born in England. But the truth is, that this learned man was a native of Scotland. This appears from the verses of his son, Mark, (known in France as a wit and a soldier by the name of *De Cerisantes*,) prefixed to a work of his father's. (Marci Duncani Institut. Logicæ, edit. 3<sup>ta</sup> Salm. 1643.)

Ecce Caledoniis Duncanus natus in oris.

And again, addressing the book :

Scotia cumprimis pernec adeunda volatu,  
Namque patrem tellus edidit illa tuum.

If any other proof of this fact be wanting, it is supplied by the following document. "Carolus, &c. Certum facinus et testamur prenommatum Marcum Duncanum legitimum ex legitimo matrimonio et generosis parentibus, oriundum esse, splendidisque familiis tam a paterno quam a materno genere descendisse, patre scilicet generoso viro Thomæ Duncano de Maxpoffe infra Vicecomitatum nŕum de Roxburgh, avo etiam generoso viro Joanne Duncano de Logie infra Vicecomitatum nŕum de Perth," &c. &c. (Littera Prosapie Marci Duncani Medicinæ Doctoris in inclita civitate Salmuriensis in Gallia, Oct. 5. 1639. MSS. Diplom. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. W. 6. 26. p. 23.) A letter from Mark Duncan ("A Saumure le 14 d'Aoust 1639") requesting this attestation of his pedigree, and another from his son, Fr. Duncan Sainte Helene, are preserved among the Scotts-tarvet Papers. (Ibid. A. 3. 19. Nos. 82, 87.)

Note E. p. 12.

*Of Melville's academical education.*—The following is the matriculation list for the year in which he entered the university.

Decimus Rectoratus Mgr̃i Joannis Douglasii, præpositi Novi Collegii Mariani 1559.

Noia Incorporatorum sub eo-lem Anno suprascripto, scilicet 1559.

In Novo Collegio Mariano

Thomas Maytlande

Jacobus Lundie

Robertus Lundie

Michael Wemis

Joannes Ramsay

Andreas Mailuile

Joannes Moncur

Jacobus Lowsone

Jacobus Hāmyltoun

Duncanus Skeyne

Jacobus Fullartoun

In Collegio Leonardino

Joannes Gordoun

David Leirmonth

Robertus Leirmonth

Valterus Hecl yng

Gulielmus Collace

Andreas Symson

Archibaldus Hoige

Gulielmus Braidfute

Thomas Beggart

Archibaldus Bankheid

David Housone

Johannes Roull.

"None (says Dr. Lee) are mentioned as having entered St. Salvator's College this year, but in 1560 there are more in that seminary than in both the others; or, to speak more correctly, in 1560 there are seven in St. Mary's, four in St. Leonard's, and seventeen in St. Salvator's.—There is a red line under *Jacobus Lowsone*. I have reason to believe that this was drawn by the pen of Andrew Melville,

as there are some marginal notes throughout the volume, which appear to me to be in his handwriting, all in red ink. Similar lines are drawn under such names as *Robertus Kilpont*, *Johannes Rove*, and *Johannes Robertsoun*, in 1545."

That Melville took his degrees at St. Andrews, is attested by his nephew. (Diary, p. 33.) This is not authenticated by the records of the university, which are defective at this period. In 1562 there are only *five* bachelors, and in 1563 *eight* masters of arts. In 1564 there is no list of either bachelors or masters.

Note F. p. 28.

*Civil Law prohibited to be taught in the University of Paris.*—The author of "*Mélanges tirés d'une grande Bibliothèque*," (tom. ix. pp. 245—6. à Paris, 1780,) says, that Roman Law was taught in the University of Paris from the first discovery of the Pandects, and that Budæus was appointed professor of it in the Royal College by Francis I. I suspect that Budæus never held that situation. It is true, that occasional lectures on this science were delivered at Paris. (See above, pp. 27, 28.) But these were of an extraordinary kind, similar to "shagling lectures" in England, (Wood's *Athenæ*, by Bliss, vol. i. col. 43.) which were read by individuals who obtained a dispensation to this purpose, in consequence of the celebrity which they had obtained in their profession. The writer above referred to endeavours to explain away the prohibition of Honorius III. by alleging that it refers only to ecclesiastics; but it is sufficient to read the papal decree to be satisfied that it does not admit of such an interpretation. It proceeded not only on the ground of the University of Paris being properly a seminary of theology, but also upon the assumed fact, that causes were not decided in that part of France upon the principles of Roman Law. (Bulæus, *Hist. Univ. Paris*. tom. iii. 96.) In 1562, a request was presented, in behalf of certain students, driven by the civil war, from the other French universities, that the doctors of canon law should be permitted to read lectures on civil law. But it was not granted. In 1568, a permission of this kind was granted, on the powerful consideration, that young men were in danger of imbibing heretical opinions at the other seminaries; but in 1572, the universities of Orleans, Poitiers, &c. obtained a decree, prohibiting the canonists of Paris from granting licences to advocates. This decree, though superseded for some time, was finally confirmed in 1579. (Ib. tom. vi. pp. 552, 658, 662, 727.) The author of *Mélanges* (ut sup. p. 248.) insists, but without good reason, that the *ordonnance* of Blois in 1579



merely prohibited the taking of a degree in civil law, unless the person, at the same time, graduated in canon law.

The following facts and illustrations, for which I am indebted to Dr. David Irving, will set the matter in a clearer light. In the year 1220, Pope Honorius the third strictly prohibited the civil law from being taught in Paris, or any place adjacent. "Sane licet sancta ecclesia legum secularium non respuat famulatum, quæ æquitatis et justitiæ vestigia imitantur: quia tamen in Francia et nonnullis provinciis laici Romanorum imperatorum legibus non utuntur, et occurrunt raro ecclesiasticæ causæ tales, quæ non possint statutis canonicis expediri; ut plenius sacræ paginæ insistatur: firmiter interdicimus, et districtius inhibemus, ne *Parisiis*, vel civitatibus, seu aliis locis vicinis quisquam docere vel audire jus civile præsumat." (Decret. Gregor. ix. lib. v. tit. xxxiii. § 28.) The spirit of this law is sufficiently explained in an *ordonnance* of Philippe le Bel, issued in the year 1312. "Ut autem liberius ibidem studium proficeret theologiæ, primogenitores nostri non permiserunt legum sæcularium, seu juris civilis, studium ibidem institui, quinimo id etiam interdicti, sub excommunicationis pœna per sedem apostolicam procurarunt." (Terrasson, *Hist. de la Jurisprudence Romaine*, p. 442.)

That the same prohibition continued in force during the sixteenth century, is clearly evinced by an anecdote of the great civilian Cujacius. The civil wars having obliged him to relinquish his station in the university of Bourges, he retired to Paris; where he could not be permitted to read lectures on the civil law without a special dispensation. By an *arrest* of the parliament of Paris, dated on the second of April 1576, he was authorised to teach in the university, and, in conjunction with the professors of the canon law, to confer degrees in his own faculty. "Ladite Cour, attendu la qualité du tems, et sans tirer à conséquence, a permis et permet audit Cujas faire lectures et profession en droit civil en l'université de Paris, à tels jours et heures qu'il sera par lui avisé, avec les docteurs-régens en droit canon en cette ville: permettant audit Cujas et docteurs donner les degrés à ceux qu'ils trouveront avoir fait cours le tems requis, et selon que par l'examen ils les auront trouvés capables: validant ce qui aura été fait en cette part, comme si fait avoit été en l'une des autres universités fameuses de ce royaume." This *arrest* may be found at the end of Terrasson's History of Roman Jurisprudence.

The prohibition of teaching the civil law at Paris was soon afterwards renewed by the *ordonnance* of Blois, issued in the year 1579;

and it was only removed by an edict which the parliament registered on the eighth of May 1679.

Note G. p. 39.

*Of Henry Scrimger.*—It has been stated by different writers that this learned man was allied to the ancient and honourable house of Diddup. His genealogy may be more exactly traced from the Diary of James Melville. That writer, in speaking of Scrimger, calls him "my eam." (Diary, p. 35.) The word *eam* or *eme* (from the French *amie*, a friend or relation,) had then the appropriate meaning of *uncle*. Thus, Alexander Erskine of Gogar, Master of Mar, is called *eme* to the Earl of Mar, and in the same document he is called his *uncle*. (Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 158, 159. comp. 101, 102.) Again, James Melville calls Alexander Young "my cousing;" (Ib. p. 26.) and we know that Young's mother was a sister of Henry Scrimger's. (See above, p. 51.) Now James Melville's mother was "Isabell Scrymgeour, sister to the laird of Glaswell for the time." (Diary, p. 14.) It is proper, however, to state, that the only ground which I have for saying that *Walter* was the name of the father of Henry Scrimger, is the following: "Oct. 1. 1549. Jacobus Scrymgeor hæres Walteri Scrymgeor de Glaswell patris." (Inquis. Spec. Retorn. *Perth*, num 8. comp. num. 40.)

Scrimger distinguished himself at the University of St. Andrews. In the register of graduations for the year 1534, after "Rotulus graciosus," containing the names of three who obtained the degree of master "propter importunas supplicationes," there follows: "Rotulus istorum sequēciū rigorosus secundum rigorem examinis et meritum. Hen. Scrimgeor pūs:" intimating that he was placed at the head of the list, not in virtue of his rank, but in consequence of his having submitted to a strict examination. In 1533, when he passed bachelor, he is marked *d.* or *dives*, and of St. Salvator's college.

It appears from his preface to the Greek text of Justinian's Novells, that Scrimger intended to publish a Latin version of that work, as well as annotations on it. His edition is mentioned with commendation by several civilians. Cujas says: "In postrema editione Novellarum, quam Henricus Scrimgerus vir doctissimus hoc anno procuravit, qua re equidem pro mea parte ei multum me debere confiteor." (Cujacii Observ. p. 167. Col. Agrip. 1591, 8vo.)

The only other work which he appears to have published, was a history of the case of Spira. It was printed along with the narratives of the same case, written by Petrus Paulus Vergerius, Matthæus Gri-

baldus, and Sigismundus Gelous, under the following title: "Francisci Spieræ, qui quod susceptam semel Euægelice ueritatis professione abnegasset, damnassetq; in horrendâ incidit desperationem, Historia, A quatuor summis uiris summa fide conscripta, cum clariss: uirorum Prefationibus, Cælii S. C. & Jo. Caluini, & Petri Pauli Vergerii Apologia: in quibus multa hoc tempore scitu digna grauissimè tractantur. Accessit quoq; Martini Borrhæi, de usu quem Spieræ tum exemplum, tum doctrina efferat, iudicium. 2 Petri 2. Satiùs fuisset eis non cognouisse uiam iustitiæ," &c. 12<sup>o</sup> pp. 200, including Index, besides seven leaves at beginning: A to M in eights. It has neither name of printer, place, nor date, but was probably printed at Basil in 1550 or 1551. At p. 62, Scrimger's narrative commences: "Exemplum memorabile desperationis in Francisco Spira propter abiuratam fidei confessionem Henrico Scoto autore." And extends to the end of p. 95. It begins: "Citadella est agri Patauini municipium non ignobile. in eo Franciscus Spira fuit, homo, cum inter suos imprimis honestus ac locuples," &c. Speaking of Scrimger's narrative, Cælius Secundus Curio says, in his Preface: "Alterius explicator & scriptor Henricus est natione Scotus, homo doctus, disertus, grauis, & quod ad historiâ scribendam requiritur maximè fidelis & bonus."

Scrimger left his library to his nephew, Peter Young, whose brother, Alexander, brought it to Scotland. (Smith, Vita Petri Junii, p. 4.) Buchanan, at Young's desire, offered his MSS. to Christopher Plantin to print. (Epist. xii. xiii.) Casaubon obtained the use of his notes on Strabo, and applied for those on Polybius, when he published his editions of these authors. (Casaub. Epist. pp. 182, 306. edit. Almel.) He speaks very highly of them in his letters to Young, but has been accused of not duly acknowledging his obligations in his printed works. It appears from Casaubon's letters, that Scrimger was allied to Henry Stephens by marriage. (Comp. Maittaire, Stephan. Hist. pp. 238, 249.) A letter of Scrimger's is inserted in that work. (P. 239.) The following is the most particular account that I have met with of the ancient authors on whom he left notes, and of the number of manuscripts of each from which he collected his various readings.

Demosthenem cum quinque Manuscriptis diuersis

Thucydidem cum duobus

Herodotum cum 2<sup>bus</sup>

Strabonem cum 3<sup>bus</sup>

Gorgiam Platonis cum 1<sup>o</sup>

Arrianum de gestis Alexandri cum 2<sup>bus</sup>

Xenophontem cum 3<sup>bus</sup>

Plutarchi Opuscula cum 3<sup>bus</sup>

Ejusdem Vitas cum 2<sup>bus</sup>

Phornitum et Palefutum, (Phornuthum et Palæphatum) cum antiquo plane diverso ac prope alio ab impresso

Harpeocratonem cum 1<sup>o</sup>

Eusebii historiam Ecclesiasticam, Theodoreti, Socratis et aliorum cum 2<sup>bus</sup> multis locis non solum emendatam, sed integris fere paginis auctam

Animadversiones in Diogenem : in Platonem : in Laertium : in Euclidem : in Athenæum : in Herodianum : in Theonis sophistæ progymnasmata : in Diodorum Siculum : in Lysia λογισμοι : in Appollonium grāmaticum : in Heliodori Ethiopica.

(Dav. Buchananus De Scriptoribus Scotis Illustribus, num. 54.

MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. W. 6. 34.)

To this list may be added (from Dempster, 587.) "Basilicō libros," and (from Tanner) "Ciceronis Philosophica."

The following verses to his memory are by an unknown poet.

Scrimgerus vitam exegit ter lustra quaterna

Tresque annos, testæ fictilis hospes ovans,

Scotia cui natale solum, fatale Geneva,

Gallia Atheneum, Roma magisterium,

Amphitheatrum orbis totus, Germania census,

Doctrinarum orbis laus, patria alma polus.

(D. Buch. ut supra, num. 54.)

#### NOTE. H. p. 50.

*Of a suppressed political tract of Beza.*—The following extract from the records of the city of Geneva relates to this tract. "30 dit (Juillet, 1573.) Livre de Monsieur de Beze défendu. Monsieur de Beze aiant composé et fait imprimer un livre, intitulé *De Jure Magistratum*, lequel aiant été examiné par les Seign<sup>rs</sup> Varro, Bernard et Roset, il fut trouvé que ledit livre n'étoit pas de saison, quoi qu'il ne contient rien que de vrai ; mais parce qu'il auroit pu causer des troubles, on en supprima l'impression de même que les exemplaires qui en avoient été déjà faicts." (Recueil de diverses particularitéz concernant Geneve, p. 123. MS. Bibl. Jurid. Edin.)

Though suppressed by order of the senate, copies of this work got abroad ; and it was frequently reprinted, both in Latin and French. The first edition is sometimes mentioned as printed in 1573, and

sometimes in 1574. (General Dictionary, Hist. and Crit. vol. x. pp. 311, 327.) In 1576, it was printed in French and in Latin. In 1578, a French edition appeared with the following title: "Du droit des Magistrats sur leur sujets. Traicté très nécessaire en ce temps, pour avertir de leur devoir tant les Magistrats que les sujets: publié par ceux de Magdebourg l'an M.D.L.: & maintenant reveu & augmenté des plusieurs raisons & exemples." De Thou and Bayle were both deceived by the words here printed in Italics, and concluded that this was a new edition, with additions, of a book published in 1550. But these words were inserted by the publisher for the purpose of concealment; no such book was published in 1550; and this is merely another edition of the treatise *De Jure Magistratum in subditos, et officio subditorum erga Magistratus*, originally printed at Geneva in 1573. (See the Critique on Bayle's Dissertation on the Book of Stephanus Junius Brutus, by the Parisian Editor of his Dictionary, § xi. xxxiii.) It is inserted in a collection of political tracts by Joan. Nicol. Stupanus, Professor of Medicine at Basil, printed at Montbelliard in 1599; and in a valuable historical work, entitled, "Mémoires de l'Estat de France, sous Charles ix." (tom. ii. pp. 483—522. Anno 1578.)

The learned are now agreed in ascribing the *Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos* to Hubert Languet. But Beza was long suspected of being the author of that work. The first writer, so far as I know, who named him as the author of the treatise *De Jure Magistratum*, was Sutcliffe, in one of his controversial pieces against the Presbyterians. This was denied by some of the defenders of Beza. John Beccaria, who wrote a refutation of it in 1590, supposes it to be the production of a lawyer,—"*versatum in literis humanis, præsertim historiis, atque si divinare licet leguleium, in divinis haud adeo multum.*" (Refut. cujusdam Libelli, p. 9.) The extract which I have given at the beginning of this note shews that Sutcliffe was right in his conjecture.

The treatise is well written and well reasoned. The principles which it maintains are the same with those of the *Vindiciæ*: indeed Languet's work is properly an enlargement of Beza's. But the latter is more guarded than the former, both in the questions which it agitates, and in the language which it holds upon them. It is, however, far from being undecided or evasive. The following propositions, among others, are advanced and confirmed by reason, Scripture, and history: That the authority of God only is absolute and unlimited; that when irreligious or unjust commands are laid on us we are not merely to decline obeying them, but also to act in such a manner as

to discharge our duty to God and our neighbour ; that every kind of resistance by subjects to their superiors is not unlawful and seditious ; that rulers are created for the people and not the people for rulers ; that a just resistance by arms is not inconsistent with Christian patience and prayer ; (" I extol Christian patience as a distinguished virtue ; I detest sedition and every kind of confusion ; I acknowledge that prayer and repentance are proper remedies against tyranny, when it is sent by God as a judgment and a scourge : but I deny that, on this account, it is unlawful for a people oppressed by manifest tyranny to use other just remedies along with prayer and repentance ;") that it is the duty of all to oppose those who endeavour to usurp dominion over their fellow-citizens ; that a usurper may become a lawful magistrate, by obtaining the consent of the people ; that magistrates may be resisted though they should not be deposed ; that inferior magistrates, though installed by the sovereign, do not depend upon him but upon the sovereignty of the state, and that they, and the estates or Parliament of a nation, who are appointed as a check on the supreme magistrate, may and ought to restrain him when he violates the laws and becomes tyrannical ; that all kings are bound, either by express or tacit agreement, to rule justly and for the good of the people ; that the public good and the rights of the people are paramount to those of any individual, however exalted ; that though private persons are not warranted in ordinary cases to resist rulers by force, yet they may apply to inferior magistrates for redress, and concur with the estates of a kingdom in imposing restraints upon tyrants, or in emancipating themselves from the yoke of tyranny ; and that although religion is not to be planted or propagated by arms or force, yet when the true religion has been established in any nation by public authority, or when the liberty of professing it has been obtained, it is lawful to maintain and defend it by force against manifest tyranny, and so much the more because what relates to conscience and the souls of men is of greater importance than mere secular concerns. (*Mémoires de l'Estat de France, ut supra.*)

This appears to be the book to which Hotoman refers in a letter to Jaques Capel de Tilloy, (7th Jan. 1575.) "*Nudius Octavus a Chamberi tres buccinatores in foro Ducis Sabandiæ et Senatus interdixerunt, ne qui seum libellum (Franco-Galliam) et novum alterum de magistratibus et veritate vendere aut domi habere, legere, contractare aude-ret.*" (*Hotomanorum Epistolæ, p. 46, 47. Amstel. 1700.*) In another letter he mentions, that the magistrates of Geneva would not

permit the last named work, nor even the Life of the Admiral, to be published within the bounds of their jurisdiction. (Ibid. p. 49.)

NOTE I. p. 54.

*Melville's Panegyric on Geneva.*—This is contained in a poem entitled, “*Epitaphium Jacobi Lindesii, qui obiit Genevæ, 17. Cal. Jul. 1580.*” (*Delitiæ Poet. Scot. ii. 123.*)

Celtarum crudele solum, crudelia tandem  
Regna dolis Italarum atris, & cæde recenti  
Carnificum dirorum infamia, (Sequana qua se  
Obliquat flexu vario, qua Matrôna Belgas  
Irrigat: immitesque Liger, tristesque Garumna  
Permutat populos: & gurgite sanguinis alti  
Qua Rhodano se jungit Arar, sua flumina miscens  
Purpurea: exanimesque artus laniataque membra  
Matrumque, infantumque ævi discrimine nullo,  
Aut sexus teneri; vastum protrudit in æquor  
Piscibus impastis pastum monstriisque marinis)  
Exuperas gressu impavidus, certusque salutis:  
Jam Genevam, Genevam veræ pietatis alumnâ,  
Florentem studiis cælestibus omine magno  
Victor ovans subis: ac voti jam parte potitus  
Jam Bezæ dulci alloquio Suadæque medulla,  
Et succo ambrosiæ cælesti, & nectaris imbre  
Perfusus; jam Danæi (a) immortalia dicta,  
Cornelique (b) Palæstinas, Portique (c) Sorores  
Grajugenas: jam Serrana (d) cum lampade, Faii (e)

(a) Lambert Danée, Professor of Divinity at Geneva, and afterwards at Orthes in Bearn, and at Leyden.

(b) Cornelius Bonaventura Bertramus, Professor of Hebrew at Geneva.

(c) Franciscus Portus, Professor of Greek there.

(d) Jean de Serres (Serranus) one of the pastors of the territory of Geneva in 1572, and Rector of the Protestant College of Nismes in 1578. He was distinguished as a historian, and suspected, but apparently with injustice, of engaging in measures hostile to the protestant interest by embarking with those who were called *Reconcilers*.

(e) Antoine de la Faye (Faius) Pastor and Professor of Theology at Geneva. He was Doctor of Medicine.

Phœbeas artes geminas, clarumque Perotti (*f*)  
 Sidus, Gulardique jubar, (*g*) lumenque Pinaldi, (*h*)  
 Et Stephani (*i*) Musas varias operumque labores,  
 Necnon ingentis Calvinii ingentia fata,  
 Et magnum atque memor Keithi (*j*) magni, atq; sagacis  
 Glaspæi (*k*) desiderium, sanctique Collessi (*l*)  
 Edoctus.—

## NOTE K. p. 62.

*Specimen of Melville's method of private tuition.*—"That quarter of yeir I thought I gat greitter light in letters nor all my time befor : whowbeit at our meitting in my convent I thought I could haiff taked to him in things I haid hard as he did to me as a master of arts. bot I perceivit at aunes y<sup>t</sup> I was bot an ignorant babble and wist not what I said nether could schaw anie vse y<sup>of</sup> bot in clattering and crying. he fand me bauche in the latin tounge, a pratler vpon precepts in logick w<sup>tout</sup> anie profit for the right vse, and haiffing soun termes of art in Philosophie w<sup>tout</sup> light of solid knowledge. yit of ingyne and capacite guid aneuche wherby I haid cunned my dictata and haid

(*f*) Charles Perrot, Pastor and Rector of the Academy at Geneva.

(*g*) Simon Goulart, Pastor of Geneva, and well known as a writer, and the correspondent of Scaliger, Du Plessis, &c.

(*h*) Monsieur Pinauld, Pastor of Geneva. (*Epistres Franc. à M. de la Scala*, p. 122, 267, 447.)

(*i*) Henry Stephens, the learned printer of Geneva.

(*j*) William Keith, son of Lord William Keith, and brother of George Earl Marischal, who was unfortunately killed during an excursion into the country, while prosecuting his studies at Geneva. Beza, Gaultier, and other foreign literati honoured his memory with elegies.

(*k*) George Gillespie was a Regent in St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, and died at Geneva. The Records of the University (Jan. 6, 1575) mention that the Rector presented the accòmpts,—“vice M. Georgii Gillaspie, quæstoris facultatis artium, causata ejus deceseu in Galliam.”

(*l*) William Collace, a Regent in St. Leonard's College. (See above, p. 12, 59.) “Not long efter (the summer of 1575) Mr Andro receavit Letters from Monsieur du Bez, and therin amangis the rest, ‘*Collaccus vester, exemplar omnium virtutum, nuper apud nos vita functus est.*’ This was my guid regent quha efter the ending of our course had gean to france and coming to Geneva ther died, a great loss to the kirk of God in his countrie, for he was solidlic learnit, hartelic addicted to divinitie, with a sincear zeilous hart.” (Melville's Diary, p. 42.)



them ready aneuche. he enterit y<sup>r</sup>for and conferrit w<sup>t</sup> me sum of Bowchanans Psalmes, of Virgill and Horace qlk twa namlie Virgill was his cheiff refreshment efter his graue studies, wherin he lut me sie no<sup>t</sup> onlie the proper latin langage and ornaments of poesie bot also mair guid logik and philosophie than ever I haid hard befor. I had tean delyt at the grammar schole to heir reid and sung the verses of Virgill taken w<sup>t</sup> the numbers y<sup>r</sup>of (whowbeit I knew no<sup>t</sup> what numbers was till he tauld me) and haid mikle of him par ceur, bot I understud never a lyne of him till then. He read a comedie of Tyrence w<sup>t</sup> me schawing me that ther was bathe fyne latin langage and wit to be lernit. y<sup>t</sup> of langage I thought weill bot for wit I merveld and haid no<sup>t</sup> knawin befor. He put in my hand the Comentares of Cæsar comending him for the simple puritie of the latin toung. also Salust and read w<sup>t</sup> me the coniuration of Cateline. He had gottin in Paris at his by coming Bodin his method of historie qlk he read ower him self thryse or four tymes y<sup>t</sup> quarter, annes w<sup>t</sup> me and the rest whill I was occupied in the Greik Grammar, qlk he put in hand of Clenard causing me vnderstand the precepts onlie and lear the *παρὰδιδασκαλία* exactlie; the practise wherof he schew me in my buik going throw w<sup>t</sup> me that Epistle of Basilius and causing me lern it be hart bothe for the langage and the mater. y<sup>r</sup>after to the new Testament and ged throw sum chapters of Mathew, and certean comfortable places of the epistles namlie the Romans. And last entering to the Hebrew I gat the reiding declynations and pronons and sum also of the conjugations out of Martinius grammar qlk he haid w<sup>t</sup> him, and schew me the vse of the Dictionair also qlk he haid of Reuclins \* w<sup>t</sup> him. And all this as it war bot pleying and craking, sa y<sup>t</sup> I lernit mikle mair by heiring of him in daylie conversation bathe that quarter and y<sup>r</sup>after, nor ever I lernit of anie buik, whowbeit he set me euer to the best authors."

(Melville's Diary, pp. 37, 38.)

NOTE L. p. 65.

*Early State of University of Glasgow.*—At the solicitation of William Turnbull, Bishop of Glasgow, Pope Nicholas V. granted a bull, dated the 7th of January 1450, constituting "a General Study for theologie, canon and civil law, the arts, and every other useful facul-

\* *John Reuchlin*, or *Capnio*, published his Hebrew Grammar and Dictionary (the first ever composed by a Christian or in Latin) in the year 1506. But perhaps Melville used the Dictionary translated from Hebrew by *Anthony Reuchlin* in 1554, and of which an abridgment by *Lucas Osiander* appeared in 1569.

ty," at Glasgow ; and granting to it all the rights and privileges belonging to the University of Bologna. In the following year a body of statutes for its government was prepared by the bishop and his chapter, which, together with the papal bull, were confirmed, in 1453, by a Royal Charter from King James II. During the first two years of its erection more than a hundred individuals were incorporated into it ; but the most of these were not young men commencing their studies, but secular or regular ecclesiastics, who became members chiefly for the sake of the honour attached to a learned corporation, or of the immunities to which it entitled them. The annals of the university are sufficiently copious in information respecting its government, but they are almost entirely silent as to what is more important, the means of instruction which it provided, and the mode in which that instruction was conveyed. So far as we can collect from scattered hints, it would seem that there was no stated or regular teaching in the higher faculties. The zeal of individuals prompted them to read occasional lectures, the continuance of which depended on the caprice of the hearers, whose attendance on them was optional. " On the 29th of July, 1460, a venerable man, Master David Cadyow, precentor of the church of Glasgow, and Rector of the university, read, in the Chapter-House of the Predicant Friars of Glasgow, at nine o'clock *ante meridiem*, the title or rubric in the third book (of the Canon Law) *De vita et honestate clericorum*, in the presence of all the clergy and masters ; and he continued at the pleasure of the hearers." On the same day, and in the same house, Master William de Levenax read a title in the Civil Law. The first notice of any lecture on theology is at a much later period. " On the 23d of March, 1521, a religious man, Father Robert Lile, of the order of Predicant Friars, Bachelor of Theology, and Prior of the Convent of Glasgow, began, *pro forma*, to read a lecture on the fourth book of the Sentences, in the foresaid Monastery, in presence of the Rector, Dean of Faculty, and the rest of the masters ; John Ade, Professor of Theology, and Provincial of the whole order of Scotland, presiding at the time." The want of salaries to the professors was doubtless one great reason of the rarity of these lectures. Bishop Turnbull died before he had an opportunity of carrying his munificent purposes into execution \* ; and the defect was not supplied by his successors, or by the government. With the exception of certain small perquisites paid at promotions to degrees, the university, as

\* D. Buchananus de Scriptoribus Scot. Art. De D. Turnbullo : MS. in Bibl. Col. Edin. Bishop Turnbull died in 1454.

such, was destitute of funds, and the professors of divinity, and of canon and civil law, depended for their support on the benefices which they held as ecclesiastics in various parts of the kingdom.

Happily more attention had been paid to the inferior branches of learning. These were taught at an early period; for the records mention the admission of a regent of philosophy within two years after the erection of the university. "*Congregatione facultatis artium tenta, &c. 1452, 28<sup>to</sup>. Julij, supplicavit venerabilis et religiosus vir Dominus Alexander Geddes, licentiatu8 in theologia, monachus de Melro8, pro licentia exponendi textum Aristotelis pro ——— cujus supplicationi facultas favorabiliter inclinata illam quam petiit salsis suis privilegiis duntaxat sibi contulit potestatem.*" (Act. Fac. Art. Glasg.) This was the usual way of admitting a regent to teach a course of philosophy. It is probable that Bishop Turnbull had founded the *Pædagogium*, or College, in which the students of the liberal arts lived together with the masters who superintended their education. They resided in a house situated on the south side of the Rottenrow, until a benefaction from Lord Hamilton enabled them to remove to the situation which the college occupies at present. By means of donations and bequests from different individuals, a moderate provision was made for the continuance of regular instruction in the college. Chaplainries, for the benefit of the regents, were founded at different times. Thomas Arthurlie bequeathed a tenement to the college. And in 1557, Archbishop Beaton gave to it the vicarage of Colmonell, which, with the glebe acres, is valued, in the old Rental Book, at £44. 13s. 4d. (Records of University; and Statist. Account of Scotland, vol. xxi. Appendix.) Some idea may be formed of the nature of the instruction given from the lists, at the end of this note, which contain the titles of books presented for the use of the regents.

The University of Glasgow, from its peculiar constitution, necessarily suffered more from the change of religion at the Reformation than the other learned establishments of Scotland. The professors in the higher branches being all supported by their livings in the church, and adhering to the old religion, successors could not be appointed to them owing to the total want of salaries. It was so far a favourable circumstance that John Davidson, the principal of the college, embraced the reformed doctrines, and continued his academical labours. By this means the most valuable, though not the most dignified, part of the academy was preserved from extinction. But it also suffered materially from the fraudulent alienation, or the unjust seizure of its slender revenues. To remedy this evil, the friends of the college obtained from Queen Mary, in 1563, a grant under the Privy Seal,

founding bursaries for five poor scholars, and bestowing certain houses and lands for their support during the time of their education. (Gibson's Hist. of Glasgow; Appendix.) In 1572, the Town Council of Glasgow, perceiving "that the college had fallen into decay for want of funds, and the study of the arts was nearly extinguished in it through poverty," bestowed on it rents which were deemed adequate for the support of fifteen persons. It might be supposed that these gifts would have been sufficient to place the college on a respectable footing, but all that could be made good, from the whole of the funds, did not amount to more than three hundred pounds Scots annually.

The following extracts from the records, containing lists of books taught at the university, were obligingly sent me by Dr. Mactark, Professor of Church History at Glasgow.

*Congregationes facultatis artium tenta, &c. anno Domini 1475 tertio die mensis Novembris presentati fuerunt, &c.*

*Eodem Anno Reverendus in christo Pater ac Dominus, Dominus Johannes, Dei et apostolicæ sedis gratia, Episcopus Glasguensis, infrascriptos donavit libros Pedagogio Glasguensi ad usum et utilitatem Regentium inibi pro tempore existentium.*

*In primis unum volumen in pergameno in quo continentur textus Physicæ Aristotelis completus, quatuor libri de cælo et mundo, duo de Generatione, quatuor Metheororum, liber de causis proprietatum elementorum, Liber de Mundo, liber de lineis indivisibilibus, Liber de inundatione fluvii, Item liber de Bona fortuna, Epistola quædam Aristotelis ad Alexandrum, tres libri de anima, Liber de sensu et sensato, Liber de Memoria et Reminiscentia, Liber de Sompno et Vigilia, Liber de longitudine et brevitate vitæ, Liber de spiritu et respiratione, Liber de morte et vita, Liber de motu animalium, Liber de progressu animalium, Liber de Phisonomia, Liber de Pomo, Liber de*

*Spiritus et animæ, Item liber de vita Aristotelis.*

*Item in alio Volumine Papirio donavit idem Reverendus Pater. In primis quoddam Scriptum continens questiones super octo libros Physicorum Item questiones super tribus libris de cælo et mundo Item questiones quasdam super tribus libris Metheororum Item quasdam questiones super duobus libris de Generatione Item quasdam questiones super tribus libris de anima Item quasdam questiones super libro de sensu et sensato Item quasdam questiones super libris de memoria et reminiscentia sompno et vigilia Item quasdam questiones de longitudine et brevitate vitæ.*

Sequuntur libri quos donavit ad usum et utilitatem Regentium in facultate artium in Pædagogio Glasguen pro tempore inibi existentium bonæ memoriæ venerabilis vir Magister Duncanus Bunch quondam Canonicus Glasguen et in dicto loco principalis Regens.

In primis unum volumen bene ligatum in Pergameno in quo continentur textus predicabilium Purpburii, (*sic*) textus Aristotelis super veteri arte, Liber sex principiorum Gilberti Porritani, Liber Divisio- num Boetii et liber Thopicorum ejusdem et textus Aristotelis super nova Logica complete.

Item in alio papirio volumine Textus super tribus Libris Aristote- lis Item in eodem duo libri Elencorum rupti in fine Item duo libri Posteriorum Item commentum alberti super Phisica Aristotelis in Pergameno Item questiones Phisicales in parte magistri Joannis Elmir Item duo libri de generatione

Item in uno volumine questiones super quinque libris Metaphisicæ

Item in uno volumine questiones super libro de anima cum tribus libris Methæorum cum quibusdam aliis excerptis

Item in uno volumine Textus Metaphisicæ complete in Pergameno

Item Glossa Petri Hispani secundum usum Mag<sup>ri</sup> Johannis Elmir super quinque tractatibus

Item in alio volumine duo libri de Anima

Item questiones super quinque libris Metaphisicæ

Item questiones super octo libris Phisicorum

Item una Biblia in Pergameno in parvo volumine litera optima complete Scripta.

The books mentioned in the following list were presented in the year 1489.

Sequuntur libri quos Donavit ad usum et utilitatem Regentium in Facultate artium in Pædagogio Glasguen pro tempore inibi existen- tium bonæ memoriæ Johannes Browne canonicus Glasguen et in dicto Pædagogio olim Regens.

In primis unum Volumen in quo continentur tres libri de cœlo et mundo, Duo libri de Generatione et corruptione, Libri methiorum, tres libri de anima de sompno et vigilia Item aliud Volumen conti- nens questiones logicales complete Item unum Volumen in quo con- tinentur auctores Philosophiæ Naturalis et Moralis cum sex princi- pijs, tractatus de Spera et Algorismo cum quibusdam moralibus que- stionibus Item unum volumen continens questiones metaphisicales. Item unum volumen continens glossam Magistri Petri Hispani Item unum volumen in quo continentur sex tractatus Petri Hispani cum textu Porphyrii Item unum volumen antiquum in quo continentur

questiones de anima Item Glosa Petri Hispani super certis tractatibus Item volumen in quo continentur octo libri Metaphisicæ Item tractatus super textum Purphyrii cum aliquibus questionibus Item unum volumen in quo continentur sex libri Ethicorum Item unum volumen in quo continentur questiones sancti Thomæ super certis libris Phisicæ Item scriptum super quibusdam libris Phisicorum Item Scotus secundum librum Purphyrii et scriptum Johannis Burlaw in uno volumine Item primus tractatus super suppositionibus Item super diversis dubiis Item unum volumen quod incipit Utrum Logica sit Scientia, &c.

## NOTE M. p. 65.

*Distinguished persons educated at the University of Glasgow.*—Bishop Elphinstoun's name is in the list of those who were incorporated in 1551, at the first opening of the university. It is written simply "Will<sup>us</sup> Elphinstoun," from which it is probable that he entered as a student, and had then no title or office in the church.

*Williclmus Manderstoun* proceeded Bachelor of Arts, at Glasgow, 4th November, 1506. (Annales Fac. Art.)—Dec. 1525. Guill. Manderston, Scotigena, Licent. in Medic. Rector universitatis Parisiensis. (Bulæus.)—Wilelmus Manderston, Doctor in Medicina, Rector de Gogar, Rector of the University of St. Andrews, anno 1530. He is the author of the following work: "Bipartitum in Morali Philosophia opusculum ex variis autoribus per magistrum Guillelmum Maderston Scotum nuperrime collectum: Et pro secunda impressione cum novis additionibus ab eodem apposis recusum.—Væpundantur in ædibus Gormontianis." It is dedicated by the author "reuerendo in christo patri & domino: domino Jacobo Bæton: sancti Andree archipresuli: ac totius Scotie primati & cancellario suoq. mecenati." Prefixed to it are a copy of Latin verses by William Grayme of Fintree, and an epistle in prose with the inscription, "Robertus Gra. medicinæ amator præceptor suo vilelmo Manderstō apollonie artis professori peritissimo." The colophon, on fol. cclx. is in these words: "Explicit opusculum in morali philosophia bipartitum a magistro Guillelmo Manderston Scoto diocesis sancti Andree nuperrime impressum Parthisiis Anno a Nativitate domini Millesimo quingentesimo vicesimo tertio, Die vero decima quarta Januarij." In small 8vo.

The first edition of this book was printed "Parrhisij 1518," in 4to. at the same press. The colophon states that it was "nuperrime collectum dum regeret Parisiis in famatissimo diuæ Barbaræ gymnasio," a. d. 1518. 14 kal. April. The work itself is very jejune. There

is an earlier book by Manderston, which I have not seen: "*Tripartitum epithoma doctrinale & compendiosum in totius dialecticæ artis principia. Lutetiæ Paris. 1514.*" 4to.

Extracts respecting Major and Knox have been given from the records, in *Life of John Knox*, vol. ii. pp. 465—467, 4th edit.—In 1514, we find "*Dauid Melwyn principalem regentem Glas.*" David Melville went to St. Andrews, and from 1517 to 1520 he is frequently mentioned in the records of that university, under the designation "*Dauid Maillwill Regentem Principalem Pedagogii Sanctiandree.*"

"*John Ade sacre theologie professor*" is mentioned in the registers of Glasgow, 29 March, 1521; and on the 23 March, 1521, (i. e. 1522,) John Ade, or Adamson, provincial of the order of predicant friars, or Dominicans, presided at a theological lecture and disputation in the university. Hector Boece informs us, that he was the first person who received the degree of Doctor of Divinity at the newly erected University of Aberdeen; and that as provincial of the Dominicans he introduced a salutary reform into that religious order. (*Vitæ Episcop. Aberd. & Murth.* See also Milne's *Hist. of Bishops of Dunkeld.*) In 1506, Robert Park, prior of the predicant friars at Perth, gives a charter "*cum consensu & assensu rev. patris David Andree prioris provincialis ejusdem ordinis in regno Scotiæ.*"—August 20, 1517, "*Ro. Lile prior fr. pred. burgi de Perth*" grants a charter with consent "*ven. p<sup>ris</sup> n<sup>ri</sup> fratris Johannis Adamsonè prioris provin. ord. n<sup>ri</sup>.*" Adamson was dead in 1526, for in that year we find "*Johannes Gresoun prior provincialis ejusdem ordinis in regno Scotiæ.*" (Transcripts from Charters of the Convent of Blackfriars at Perth, by the Rev. Mr. Scott, in Advocates Library.)

The following entries appear to relate to the Superintendent of Lothian.—"*Die Sabbati xxvii June 1534 Incorporati—Dñus Johannes Spottiswood servus, &c.*"—8 Feb. 1535 "*Dominus Joannes Spottiswood*" proceeded bachelor.—1536. "*Electi fuerunt quatuor intrantes viz. Mag<sup>r</sup> Joannes Spottiswood, &c.*" In the same year and in 1543, he was chosen one of the deputies of the Rector. (*Annales Fac. Art. et Annales Univ.*)

*David Beaton* (afterwards Cardinal) was matriculated of this university on the 26th of October, 1511.

The names of the following young men of rank occur in the lists of incorporati, or matriculated students.

Oct. 24th 1457 Andreas Stewart Subdecanus Glasguen frater illustrissimi Regis Scotorum Jacobi secundi

A. 1473 Joannes Stewart filius comitis de levenax et dñi de Dernly

1482 Mattheus Stewart filius primogenitus et heres nobilis et potentis dñi comitis de levenax et dñi de Dernly

1488 Alex. Stewart filius Comitiss de levenax

Rob. Stewart filius ejusdem comitis

Patricius Grabame filius german. comit. de Montrose

1489 Gavinus Douglas filius dñi de Drumlaurig

1492 Alexander Erskyne filius dni de Erskyne studens. Under the year 1495 is the following minute, in the *Annales Collegii Facultatis artium*: "Eodem Anno processerunt ad gradum Bachallariatus sub Magistro Patricio Covyntre, Alexander Erskyne, filius dni de eodem, qui et gloriosum actum celebravit et solus ingentes expensas fecit;"—that is, he gave a splendid feast to the university at his laurea-tion.

1510 Joannes Stewart magister de levenax filius et apparens heres Matthæi com. de levenax et dni de Dernle.

1534 Joannes Campbell filius comit. de Argile

1553 Joannes Cunynghame filius comit. de Glencarne.

It was the custom at Glasgow for every bursar to give a *silver spoon* upon his being admitted to the college table.

NOTE N. p. 65.

*Queen Mary's grant to the College of Glasgow.*—This is antedated in the common accounts of the university. It was "given under our privie seale at Glasgow the threttene of Julij the zeir of God 1<sup>mo</sup> thre score and thre zeiris."—"fforsamickle as within the citie of Glasgow, ane college and universitie was devisit to be hade, quharein the south micht be brocht up in lettres and knowlledge, the commoun welth ser- vit and vertue incressit, off the quhilk college ane parte of the sculis and chalmeris being biggit, the rest thair of alsweill dwellingis as pro- visiaon for the puir bursouris and Maisteris to teche, ceissit Sua that the samin apperit rather to be the decay of ane universitie nor any wyse to be reknit ane establiissit fundation And we for the zeile we beir to Irës and for the gude will we have that vertew be incressit within our realme, have foundit and erectit and be thir our Irës foundis and erectis five puir children bursouris within the said col- lege to be callit in all tymes cuming bursouris of oure fundation and for furnessing and provesiaon to be maid to the saidis five bursouris," gives and grants certain lands, mailles, &c. belonging to "the freiris predicatouris within the said citie." The deed further states that the queen intends "als to mak the said college to be provydit of sic rea- sonable living that thairin the libérale sciences may be planlie teched



siclike as the samyn ar in utheris collegis of yis realme Sua that the college foirsaid salbe reputet oure fundation in all tyme cuming And to that effect we ordane that quhenver the maister thairof or any of the bursouris of the samyn happenis to deceiss That utheris in thair rounmes be placit be us and o<sup>r</sup> successouris That the memorie of the said gude will we beir to vertew may remane to the posterities to cum." (Records of University of Glasgow.)

NOTE O. p. 75.

*A Dream.*—"The collage haid monie pleyis in law depending y<sup>e</sup> yeir and M<sup>r</sup> Piter blakburn was oeconoinus and speciall acter. yit becane the estimation of M<sup>r</sup> Andro was graitter, he desyrit him at certan preempter dyettes to be present in Ed<sup>r</sup>. for sic a dyet being to go to Ed<sup>r</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Piter comes in to his chalmer in the morning heave and grim lyk. being inquiryit by the principall what caled him, he answerit I haiff dreamed an vnseil \* dream and I am some thing solist after it. What is it sayes he. Me thought we war sitting at our collag burde and a cup full of barmie drink befor ws. I luiked to the cup and I thought I saw a read heidit tead lepe out of it and craked vpe vpon the wall, the qlk I percewed and dang down and tramped vnder my feit. And as I turned I saw an other lepe out also, quhilk whowbeit I followed it gat away in a holl out of my sight. Be not solist says he M<sup>r</sup> Piter I will interpret your dream and warrand the interpretation trew for a pynt of wyne. for sutha says the vther and it be guid a quart. The collage burd and cup is our collage leiving; into the quhilk twa read nebbit teades hes intrusit them self. They ar the twa read neased compeditours of our collage against the quhilk yis haiff presentlie the actiones viz. Jhone Grame the first, whome yis pen-sewing at this dyet clim als weill as he will on the wall of the law yis sall ding down and overcome. the vther is the read faced comamissar M<sup>r</sup> Archbald Beaton, wha by some wyll sall eschew presentlie and win away. Assure thy self man thow sall find it sa. M<sup>r</sup> Piter lauches and sayes, he was worthe the wyne whow ever it was. for the twa men war verie read and tead lyk faced for ploukes and lumpes. And in deid it cam sa to pass; for they brought hame a notable de-creit of reduction of a few of the freires yeard against Jhone Grame, and the vther by moyen and ernist solistation gat the action delayit and brought to arbitrimt." (Melville's Diary, pp. 49, 50.)

\* unhappy or ominous.

## NOTE P. p. 82.

*Act of the Privy Council respecting Alexander Cunninghame's submission.*

Apud Sanctandros xxix<sup>o</sup> Julij anno lxxx<sup>o</sup>

Anent of souerane Lordis lres raisit at the instance of Maister James meluile ane of the Regentis of the vniuersitie of Glasg<sup>w</sup> Makand mentioun That quhair Alex<sup>r</sup> Cuninghame zounger of clonbeyt burges and induellar of Glasgow vpoun the xx day of Junij instant being at his tabill at dunnar wt certane uthers threatnit and showit be mony despitefull wordis to be revendgit of the said Mr. James for correcting of Alex<sup>r</sup> Boyd his scollar And continewing the rest of that day in his malicious mynd and boisting langage quhill efter nyne ho<sup>rs</sup> at nyt And findand then occasioun to put his foirthot ewil mynd to executioun he houndit out the said Alex<sup>r</sup> Boyd to stryke the said Mr. James wt ane battoun q<sup>lk</sup> battoun wes gevin to him be the said Alex<sup>r</sup> Cuninghame And the said Mr. James beand cūand throw the hie kirkzard of Glasgow to the college wtout ony kynd of armo<sup>r</sup> Belevand na ewill to haue bene done to him by ony persoun The said Alex<sup>r</sup> Boyd be the persuasioun and hounding out as said is of the said Alex<sup>r</sup> Cuninghame perseuit and strak at the said Mr. James behind his bak wt the said battoun q<sup>lk</sup> straik he eschewit be his suddane turnig about At q<sup>lk</sup> time the said Alex<sup>r</sup> Boyd being effrayit and astonisheit be the saidis Mr. James wordis and countenance drew him self asyde luiking for the assistance of the said Alex<sup>r</sup> Cuninghame quha to perforce his welkit interpryis come rȳnand vpon the said Mr. James wt ane drawin swird in his hand sweiring and boisting wt many vglie aithis that he sould hoch and slay him calling him oftymes knaif and saying that he wes quair pert to ding that boy. lyke as in deid the said Alex<sup>r</sup> Cuninghame had not there faillit to haue bereft the said Mr. James of his life gif be godis providence he had not bene stayit ffor the q<sup>lk</sup> caus he being persewit thaireftir befor the rector and assessors of the said vniuersitie and baillies and counsale of the citie of Glasg<sup>w</sup>. At last he wes fund be thame to haue done wrang in troubling persewing of the said Mr. James in maner foirsaid and thairfoir ordanit to cum to the place quhair he offendit to haue acknowlegit his falt and to haue askit the said Mr. James and the hail vniuersitie pardoun and forgifnes q<sup>lk</sup> the said Alex<sup>r</sup> Cuninghame not onlie refusit and refusis to obey and fulfill being requirit thairto Bot still boistis and bragis to attempt further iniurie and inuasioun of the said Mr.

James Sua that be this forme of doing discipline is      ordinarie exercises interruptit and the myndis of the south drawin away fra thair studyis quhairvpoun alsua further inconvenient is abill to follow w<sup>t</sup> out his hienes and the lordis of secreit counsale provyde tymous remeid And anent the charge gevin to the said Alex<sup>r</sup> Cuninghame To haue compeirit personallie before o<sup>r</sup> souerane lord and lordis of secreit counsale at a certane day bipast to haue ansrit to this complaint and to haue hard and sene ordo<sup>r</sup> taikin anent the same as appertent vnder the pane of Rebellioun and putting of him to the horne w<sup>t</sup> certification to him and he failseit vtheris lres sould be direct simpl<sup>r</sup> to put him to the horne like as at mair lenth is contenit in the saidis lres Quhillkis being callit and baith the saidis partiis competrand personallie Thair ressonis and allegationis togidder w<sup>t</sup> the said decret gevin and prouit be the fairsaidis judges and thair assessors being hard sene and considerit be the saidis lordis and they rypelis anisit thairwith The Lordis of secreit counsale In respect of the said decret Ordanis the said Alex<sup>r</sup> Cuninghame To compeir in the hie kirkward of Glasgw quhair the speciall falt wes comittit vpoun the sevint day of August nixt to cum betuix foure and fyve houris eftir none And thair bairheidit to confes his said offence first to the rector in name of the vniversitie and baillies in name of the town and to the said Mr. James partie offendit And to ask God and thame forgifnes thair of and to tak thame be the handis in signe and taikin alsweill of his humiliatioun as reconciliatioun And to purge him that he was not steirit vp thairto be na maner of persoun Or ellis that he entir his persoun in ward within the castill of blaknes w<sup>t</sup> in xlvij houris eftir the said sevint day of August And remane thairin thaireftir vpoun his awin expensis ay and quhill he be fred be o<sup>r</sup> souerane lord vnder the pane of rebelloun and putting of him to the horne with certification to him and he failzie the saidis xlvij houris being bipast he salbe incontinent y<sup>e</sup>fter denicit his mat<sup>is</sup> rebell and put to the horne and all his movabill guidis escheittit to his mat<sup>is</sup> vae for his contemptioun.

NOTE Q. p. 85.

*Reparation of the Cathedral of Glasgow.*—The following extract from the Records of the Town Council shews the interest which the Magistrates took in this business.

Die XXI<sup>mo</sup> Mensis Augusti Anno Domini &c. lxxiv.

Statutum

The quhilk day The provost, baillies and counsale w<sup>t</sup> ye Dekyns of

the crafts and divers utheris honest men of the town convenand in the counsil here and havand respect and consideration to ye greit decaye and ruine y<sup>t</sup> ye hie kirk of Glasgow is cum to, thro<sup>t</sup> taking away of the leid, sclait and uther gray<sup>t</sup> thereof in yis trublus tyme bygane, sua y<sup>t</sup> sick ane greit monument will allutterly fall down and decay, w<sup>t</sup>out it be remedit. And because the helping y<sup>o</sup>f is sa greit and will extend to mair nor yai may spair And yat yai ar not addetite to ye uphalding and repairing y<sup>o</sup>f be ye law zet of thair awn free willis uncompellit and for ye zeil yai beir to ye kirk of meir almous and liberallity sua yat induce na practick nor preparative in tymes coming, conform to ane writing to be mead thereanent All in ane voce hes consentit to ane taxt and imposition of tua hundreth pundis money to be taxt and payit be ye township and freemen yairof for helping to repair ye said kirk and halding of it waterfast and for casting and making thereof hes apointit yir persons following viz the Dekyn of ilk craft John Arbuckle, Thomas Normant, Matthew Watson flesher, Patrick Howe litater, Robert Muir merchand, William Maxwell, David Lindsay Elder, Andr. Baillie, Robert Steuart, Master Adam Wallace, George Herbertson, John Fleming, William Hiegate, Robert Fleming, Thomas Spang and Johne Lindsay and to convene on Tysday next for endyng y<sup>o</sup>f.

It appears from the Records of the Kirk Session that the ministers zealously co-operated with the magistrates.—December 7, 1686. It was appointed that the provost, bailies, and deacons of crafts, and ministers of Glasgow, convene in the college kirk to give their advice and judgement anent repairing the High Kirk.—Jan. 25, 1688. The session appoints commissioners to the General Assembly to desire a commission with license to [from?] the King's Majesty for reparation of the High Church of Glasgow the best way the town and parish of the same may.—March 7. The Commissioners appointed by the King's Majesty anent repairing the High Kirk, and hail brethren of the kirk-session of Glasgow thinks guid that the laigh steeple be taken down to repair the mason work of the said kirk, and that the bell and clock be transported to the high steeple and that the kirk have a quinzee left at the steeple foressaid for the relief thereof. (Could this be the order which occasioned the riot referred to by Spotswood? If so, it happened ten years after Melville left Glasgow.) —Aug. 1. The session desire the council to send commissioners to the Assembly, as for other things to seek the Assembly's assistance for obtaining at the King's hand and counsel money for helping and upholding the parish kirk at Glasgow: or else to get a new commis-

ston to entertain the kirk with itself as it may best.—Dec. 29, 1603. The records mention a right Mr. David Weemes had made to him from the dean and chapter of Glasgow to pursue the gentlemen in whose hands services of money were laid by the said Dean and Chapter for repairing, and beautifying and decorating the Metropolitan kirk of Glasgow.—The records abound with resolutions and orders to the same effect. (Extracts from Records of Kirk Session of Glasgow: Wodrow's Life of Mr. David Weemes, pp. 5, 6. MSS. vol. iii.)

## NOTE R. p. 86.

*Library of the University of Glasgow.*—A list, entitled *Catalogus Librorum Bibliothecæ publicis Sumptibus Academiae empti*, beside such works as those of Cicero, Aristotle, and Augustine, contains,

The hail Actes of Parliament.

The Bible of Govan and College.

Historia Scotorum manuscripta, autore G. Buchanano.

Empti sunt opera Thomæ Jackei quæstoris Academiae 1577.

Thesaurus lingue Græcæ Henrici Stephani quatuor voluminibus ab hereditibus Andræ Polwarti emptus, &c.

Ex dono viri boni Thomæ Jackej

Ambrosii Opera fol.

Gregorii Romani Opera duob. voluminib.

Maister Peter Blackburne ane of the Regentis of the College at his departing to Aberdein left and gave to the College as follows

Ane new gnāl Cart stentit upon buirdes sett out be Gerardus

Jode Antuerpiæ 1575.

Tabulæ Vessalii with this inscription anatomes totius ære insculpta delineatio. fol. magno Paris. c15. 15. LXV.

The names of some scholastic books follow, and on the margin is "Ex dono Petri Blackburni ante decessum 8 Nouemb. 1582."

A list of 33 volumes consisting of the works of the fathers, Erasmus, Pagninus &c. has this note prefixed, "Decimo Junij 1581. D. Jacobus Boydæus, Episcopus Glasguen. has omnes Collegio Glasg. testamento reliquit."

14 July 1586 "Magister Archibaldus Craufurd Rector universitatis & ab Eglishem, in monumentum τῆς φιλομουσίας," presented to the College "Platonis Opera" and "Sebastian Munster's Hebrew Bible."

A list of books to the number of 60 or 70 volumes is preceded by this note: "Libros hosce sequentes ipsa vetustate notabiles Collegio

Glasguēsi testamento legavit reverendus senex M. Johannes Huesonus Ecclesiæ Cambuslangensiæ pastor anno 1619."

The list of books presented to this College by Buchanan may be seen in Irving's *Memoirs of Buchanan*, Append. No. 8. 2d edit.

NOTE S. p. 111.

*Jerom on episcopacy.*—Nothing has proved more puzzling to the *jure divino* prelatists, who feel a great veneration for the fathers, than the sentiments which St. Jerom has expressed, in various parts of his writings, concerning the origin of episcopacy. A very curious instance of this occurs in Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*. That learned and masterly writer enters into an elaborate reply to the objections which the presbyterians have raised from Jerom's assertion, that the superiority of bishops to presbyters arose from custom rather than divine institution. In the middle of this reply the following singular sentence occurs: "*This answer to Saint Jerom seemeth dangerous, I have qualified it as I may, by addition of some words of restraint; yet I satisfie not myself, in my judgment it would be altered.*" (*Ecclesiastical Polity*, book vii. sect. v. p. 11. Lond. 1661.) It will be obliging if some of the admirers of the *Ecclesiastical Polity* will examine this passage, and furnish a key to its meaning, and to the design with which it was introduced. In the mean time they are welcome to any assistance which they can derive from the following explication. It is known that the last three books (including the *seventh*) of the *Polity* were not published during the life-time of the author. In looking over his manuscript, what he had written on this part of the subject appeared to Hooker *dangerous*: he retouched it and qualified his expressions, but still his answer *satisfied not himself*; it required yet to be altered: and to keep this in mind he made a jotting of it on the margin. The manuscript coming into the hands of Dr. Gauden, bishop of Exeter, he introduced the marginal note into the text and published both together. We may easily conceive how "the judicious Hooker" would have felt at seeing his acknowledgment of his perplexity in answering this objection thus ignorantly and rudely exposed to the public eye. Yet the blunder has been retained in all the editions which I have seen, from that of 1661 down to that which was lately printed at Oxford! The *Ecclesiastical Polity* is one of the books on which candidates for holy orders are examined; but this does not necessarily imply that either they or their examiners have made themselves masters of its meaning and contents.

Dr. Gauden, in his gasconading style, boasts of the service which he has performed for the Church of England, and the confusion with which he has covered her enemies, by publishing the posthumous books. "After this Phoenix of learning and grace, of prudence and eloquence, had collected this fair pile of his Ecclesiastical Polity—himself perished amidst his great undertakings:" And "his antagonists, finding themselves—sorely wounded—by this great archer in his five first books—received some comfort in this that they escaped the shot of his last three—and found, as it is by some imagined, some artifice so long to smother and conceal them from the publique." (Gauden's *Life of Hooker*, p. 23.) But honest Isaac Walton tells a more tragic tale. After Hooker's death, two puritan ministers, having obtained admission into his study, "burnt and tore" many of his writings; and his wife having confessed this to archbishop Whitgift, "she was found next morning dead in her bed." Walton goes on to tell a number of other stories, the design of which is to shew that the posthumous works were altered. (Walton's *Lives*, by Zouch, pp. 248—263.) He does not however refer to the passage under consideration, but to those places in which sentiments concerning political liberty too liberal for High Church are advanced. (*Ecc. Pol.* B. viii. pp. 191—195.) With respect to these, it may be remarked, that expressions of the very same import occur in that part of the work which was published by Hooker himself. (*Ib.* B. i. pp. 19, 21. edit. ut sup.) "The seventh book (says Dr. Gauden) by comparing the writing of it with other indisputable papers, or known manuscripts of Mr. Hooker's, is undoubtedly his own hand throughout." (*Life of Hooker*, p. 26.)

NOTE T. p. 152.

Of *Beza's treatise De triplici Episcopatu*.—I have not seen the original work, but have now before me a copy of a translation of it into English. It is entitled, "The Jvdgement of a most Reverend and Learned Man from beyond the Seas, concerning a threefold order of Bishops, with a Declaration of certaine other waigtie points, concerning the Discipline and Government of the Church." C in eighth. The running title is "The Jvdgement of a Learned man." Strype says, it was printed in the year 1580, and John Field was supposed to be the translator. (*Annals*, ii. 629.) It contains the questions transmitted by Lord Glamis, the Chancellor of Scotland, which are six in number, and appear to be printed at full length. The second, which relates to *Councils*, states the objections which some urged

against them, and which went to prevent entirely the holding of ecclesiastical assemblies, unless when called for special purposes by the prince.

NOTE U. p. 157.

*Scottish press and edition of the Bible.*—The following is one of the articles in a petition which the Assembly presented to the Regent in the month of August, 1574. "Item It is understand to the Generall Assembly be credible report of certain learned men lately arrived within this countrey that a french printer of the best renowned this day, nixt Henricus Stephanus, being banished with his wife & family from his countrey, bath offered unto them to come in Scotland & to bring with him three thousand franks worth of books, and to print whatever he should be commanded, in so much that there should not be a book printed in French or Almain, but once in the year it should be gotten of him If he might have sure provision of a yearly pension of three hundreth merks, which indeed is ane offer so comfortable to the countrey & kirk that it ought not to be overseen That his G. will consider the same offer and take order therewith." (Cald. MS. ad an. 1574.)

I know no printer to whom this description agrees so well as *Andreas Wecheliu*s. He was the son of *Christianus Wecheliu*s, a celebrated Parisian printer; and having embraced the reformed opinions, escaped the Bartholomew massacre under the protection of Hubert Languet, the ambassador of the court of Saxony. Wecheliu

quitted France in 1573, and established himself at Frankfort, where many valuable editions of the classics, corrected by the learned Sylburgius, proceeded from his press. (Peignot, Dict. Raison. de Bibliographie, tom. ii. 342—3.) It is probable that Melville, on his return from Geneva, had an interview with him, and brought home the information of his willingness to settle in Scotland.

Among the "Articles proponit to his Ma<sup>tie</sup> and counsal" by the commissioners of the General Assembly, in July, 1580, is the following. "9. Because y<sup>r</sup> is great necessitie of a printer within this countrey and y<sup>r</sup> is a stranger banischit for religion callit Vautrolier y<sup>t</sup> offers to imploy his labour in y<sup>e</sup> said vocation for y<sup>e</sup> weill of y<sup>e</sup> countrey It will please your G. & counsell to take ordour heirin as your G. thinks meit and to give licence & privilege to him for y<sup>t</sup> effect if it salbe thocht expedient be your G. & counsell." (Buik of Univ. Kirk, p. 98.)

"Robert Lekprevik Imprentar in Ed<sup>r</sup>" obtained, on the 11th of



January, 1567, the exclusive privilege, for twenty years, of printing all books in Latin or English, necessary "for the weill and commoditie of the lieges of this realme and als all sic thingis as tend to ye glorie of God." This was renewed on the 11th of Nov. 1570, with the specification of "the buke callit donatus pro pueris, Rudimenta of Pelisso, The actis of parl<sup>t</sup> maid or to be maid, The cronicle of this realme, The buke callit regia majestas, The psalmes of Daurid with the Inglis and Latine catechismes les & mair, The buke callit the Omeleis for readaris in kirkis, Togidder with ye grammer callit y<sup>e</sup> generall grammer to be vit within the sculis of ye realme for erudition of ye youth." (Reg. of Privy Seal, vol. xxxvii. fol. 27. vol. xxxix. fol. 34.) He also obtained a licence for twenty years, to print "all and hail ane buke callit y<sup>e</sup> Inglis bybill imprented of before at Geneva." (Reg. of Privy Seal, April 14, 1568.)

The first edition of the English Bible printed in Scotland came from the press of Bassanden and Arbuthnot, in folio. In the month of March, 1575, articles of agreement were given in to the General Assembly, and approved by them, bearing: "Imprimis, Anent the godly proposition made to the Bishops, Superintendents, Visitors and commissioners in this general assembly, by Alexander Arbuthnot, merchant burges of Edinburgh and Thomas Bassenden printer and burges of the said burgh for printing and setting forth of the Bible in the English tounge, conform to the proof given and subscribed with their hands, its agreed betwixt this present assembly and the said Alexander and Thomas that every Bible which they shall receive advancement for shall be sold in Albis for 4 pound 13 shill: 4 pennies, keeping the volume and character of the saids proofs delivered to the Clerk of the Assembly."—"Item the kirk hath promised to deliver the authoretick copy which they shall follow unto them betwixt and the last of Aprile." Certain persons were appointed to oversee the copy, but they merely corrected such errors of the press as had crept into former editions, and adhered to the translation which had been made and first printed at Geneva. "Mr. George Young, servant to my Lord Abbot of Dunfermline," corrected the proof-sheets. Robert Pont composed the Kalendar. (Wodrow's Life of Smeton, pp. 5—8.) The New Testament was printed first, and bears on the title-page: "At Edinbvrgh Printed by Thomas Bassandyne, M. D. LXXVI. Cvm Privilegio." Bassanden died before the completion of the work; and the title prefixed to the Old Testament is "The Bible and Holy Scriptures contained in the Olde and Newe Testament.—Printed in Edinbrvgh Be Alexander Arbuthnet, Printer to the Kingis Maiestie,

dwelling at y<sup>e</sup> kirk of feild. 1579. Cvin Gratia et Privilegio Regie Maiestatis."

The Dedication to the young king is dated "From Edinburgh in our general assemblie the tent day of Julie 1579.—now quhē as being cōuenit in our generall assemblie, this holy boke of God callit the Bible, newly imprentit, was brocht before vs be the prenter thereof Alexander Arbuthnot (a man quha hes taken great paines and traualles worthie to be remembred in this behalfe) and desyrit to be dedicat to your Hienes with a conuenient preface in our common Scottis language, we cold not omit nor neglect the occasion offrit to do the same.—O quhat difference may be sene betwene thir daies of light, quhen almaist in euerie priuat house the buike of Gods lawe is red and vnderstand in oure vulgaire language, and that age of darkness quhen skarslie in ane haill citie (without the Clostres of the monkes and freyres) culde the buike of God anes be founde, and that in ane strange tongue of latine not gud but mixed with barbaritie, used and red be fewe, and almaist vnderstand or exponit be nane. And quhen the false namit clergie of this Realme, abusing the gentle nature of your Hienes maist noble Gudshir of worthie memorie made it an cappital crime to be punishit with the fyre to haue or rede the new testament in the vulgare language, zea and to make them to al men mare odius, as gif it had bene the detestable name of a pernicious secte, they were named new testamentares."

In the year 1579 it was ordained, by act of parliament, that every gentleman householder worth three hundred merks of yearly rent, and every yeoman and burgess worth five hundred pounds, should "have a bible and psalm buke in vulgar language in thair hous for the better instruction of thame selfis and yair familijs in the knowledge of God," under the pain of ten pounds. (Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 139.) Jun. 16, 1580, his Majesty appointed "Johne Williamson burges of Ed<sup>r</sup>—his general sercheour throuhout ye haill boundis of this his hienes realme to that effect," giving him power to visit the houses of such as are described in the act of parliament "and to requyre the sight of thair bybill and psalme buik gif thai ony haue to be markit with thair awin name of the said John or his deputtis hand wryte for eschewing of fraudfull and deceavabill dealing in that behalf," and if they have none to exact the penalty. (Record of Privy Seal, vol. xlv. fol. 129.)

The designation of "merchant burges of Edinburgh," given to Alexander Arbuthnot, in the Articles for printing the Bible, shews that he was a different person from the principal of King's College,

Aberdeen. If any other proof of this were necessary, it might be added, that Alexander Arbuthnot printed the Acts of the Parliament held in 1584, whereas the Principal died in the preceding year. (Comp. Inquis. Return. Edin. num. 39.)

NOTE V. p. 173.

*Designs and conduct of Lennox.*—Having described his companion Monberneau, “a subtile spreit, a mirrie fellow, able in bodie, and maist meit in all respects for bewitching of the youthe of a prince,” James Melville adds, “Mr. Nicol Dalgles tauld me yt this Monberneaus mother was a verie godlie Lady and schew grait courtesie to them in france at Burge in Berie, and warnit them of M. Obignies sending in Scotland, Wherevpon he maid aduertisement to the Minist. of Edin<sup>r</sup>.” (Diary, p. 59.) Sir Robert Bowes, in a letter to Lord Burleigh, (Edinburgh, Oct. 6, 1580,) says: “Sondry of the ministers chosen by the Synodall assembly holden heare on Tuesday last, were sent to the kyng to make peticōn for reformation in sondry causes, who for the first accusynge monburneaw of papistrey and other manifest and odious crymes, prayed that he might be removed from the k. chamber and presence, or els to be reformed. Wherein the k. alledged he was a stranger, and that they had no lawe to compell hym And after longe arguments and shewe of discontentme<sup>t</sup> he sayd that order should be taken therein. It is likely that after the end of this convention and sight of the satlynge of Lenoux state in this Realme, and w<sup>t</sup> her matie Monburneaw shall de<sup>p</sup>t into ffrance to the effects remembred. And surely in case he shall abyde here, and in his accustomed lyfe and dealynges he will fynde some sharpe measure offered at length.” (Cotton MSS. Calig. C. vi. 71.)

The project of associating Queen Mary in the government with the King was forwarded by Lennox. Sir George Douglas acknowledged that he was sent to France to signify the King's consent to it. (Life of John Durie, p. 18. Wodrow MSS. vol. i, Bibl. Col. Glasg.) The following extract of a letter from Scotland (by a friend and secret agent of the Hamiltons, if I may judge from presumptive evidence) contains some curious information on this subject. “The reason therof is a dealyng betwixt the king & the Queen that there may bee an association in all negotiations w<sup>ch</sup> have [has] been in handlyng of a long tyme. The Kyng in the beginning skayred herew<sup>th</sup> and could not like well of it: notwithstanding he continewd in remdryng good answeare vnto the Queen wherein she insisted and about the first of Apryll and the first of Maye hir writynges come to the kyng resolute-

ly to haue the kynges answeare if he would agree to the association or not. for in reason thereof shee would not be longer delayed. The kynges answeare is that he liketh well of the association and will hon<sup>or</sup> hir in that and in all other : and hathe desyred her to forine the association and send it back wherein yf there be only contained the dealyng<sup>e</sup> w<sup>th</sup> forayne princes and nothing to preiudice him in his government it shall be graunted vnto. This answeare appeareth rather given uppon feare than for love. albeit diuers spie owt this dealyng<sup>e</sup>, yet there is none privie vnto it except the duke and Arraine. The duke is very bent and meaneth truly to further the same. Arraine agreeth with the Duke in it but it appeareth that he dealeth indirectly to staye the same. ffor there is no appearance that arraine can lyke well of it : and yet it is supposed the association shall take effect. for the Queens wrytings beare so that the kyng looketh for worse in case he yeald not unto the association." (Cotton MSS. Calig. B. iv. 35.) This letter has no date, but it mentions that "there is lately come owt of ffrance some horse and harnessse to the kyng ;" and this present arrived at Leith on the 9th of May, 1582. (Ib. Calig. C. vii. 8.) The sanguine hopes with which the project inspired the papists appear from a letter by P. A. G. H. at Edinburgh, to James Tirry, a Jesuit at Paris, 12. Junij 1582. (Calig. C. vii. 14.)

There are many proofs that Lennox did not bear his honours with meekness, and that his morals were very offensive to the nation ; although the shameless profligacy of Arran attracted greater notice and indignation. Patrick Galloway, minister of Perth, gives the following account of the Duke's behaviour in the church, when the preacher blamed the court for supporting Montgomery bishop of Glasgow. "When I did speak against the same, he did plainly minace me, and called me pultron, villain, mischant, with many other injurious words, and threatened to run me through with a rappair, till his Majesty himself was compelled to lay his hand upon his mouth and stay the Dukes fury and malicious language heard of all that stood in his Highness seat, and uttered publicly before the people. After the sermon was ended, at the Dukes passing out of the kirk door, in plain language, laying his hand upon his sword, boasted he would have my life, and used diverse contumelious and reproachfull words of malice and despite." (Apology of Mr. Patrick Galloway for his flight, MSS. Bibl. Fac. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 9.) A paper entitled "Notes proving that the Duke of Lennox and Arran sought of old the wrack of Religion, the king, and commonwealth," contains the following particulars, among a multiplicity of others. "His (D'Aubigny's)

convoy to the ship by the Duke of Guise, confederat of the Council of Trent, his own letter to Glasgow and Glasgows letters to the Pope and Spain, the warnings from foraigne Churches and Christian Princes, Mr. Randolph from England, William Melvil from the Prince of Orange, the King of Navarre by Weems and Bothwell, with experience, proveth these things. Alexander Seton in his letter confesseth that in his course so much was gained that his Ma. mind was alienated from the ministers."—"The companie brought with him were papists by profession, and indeed atheists, obstinate enemies to the kings Crown and amitie, and were entertained with him almost to his departure: Montbirneau, Keir, Schaw, Charles Geddes," Kilsyth, &c.—"The Duke in his own person fretted and was enraged that he could not be avenged on the ministers who would not beare with his Hypocrisie and adulterouse life, wherewith the land was polluted. He intended to put hand on John Durie at Dalkeith. In a French passion he rent his beard, and thinking to strike the borde strake himself in the theigh, crying, The Devil for Jo. Durie, which Munbrineo learned for the first Lessoun in the Scottish language."—"The D. said to the K. he sould hang the L. Yester over his awin balk for refusing his chaine which he wald haif gevin to Sen<sup>t</sup> paul."—"He plucked imperiouslie Lindsay by the cloke from his Ma. in Dalkeith."—"After their familiar access to court, his Ma. chest ears were frequentlie abused with unknown Italian and french formes of oaths. The maistresse of all bawdrie and villanie, then lady Marche, infected the air in his H. audience.—By justice courts the poor of the countrie, without difference of the guiltie from the innocent, were sold and ransomed at hundreth pounds the score. That monster of nature called Countess of Arran controlled (the Judges) at her pleasure,—and caused sindrie to be hanged that wanted their compositions, saying, what had they been doing all their dayes that had not so much as five punds to buy them from the gallows." (MSS. Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 8.)

## NOTE W. p. 189.

*Smeton and Arbuthnot called to St. Andrews.*—James Melville mentions the design of obtaining Smeton to be minister at St. Andrews, and the anxiety of his uncle to have it accomplished. (Diary, p. 93.) This is referred to in the following minute of the General Assembly, April, 1683. "Sess. 8. Captain Montgomery by the King's Majesty to the whole Assembly, required them in his Highnes name, seeing his Majesty is patrone and irector of the Colledge of Glasgow wherethrow he hath a care of the entertainment and standing of the same, that the

Assembly medle not with the removing any of the members thereof, and especially of the principall." (Cald.)

The steps taken by the kirk session of St. Andrews to obtain Arbuthnot, are recorded in the following minutes, which contain the only letter of that excellent man that I have met with.

" Die septimo mensis Augusti anno octuagesimo tertio.

The q<sup>lk</sup> day M Daud russell at request of y<sup>e</sup> session offers him self willing & redly to ryd to aburdein on his awin expenss for M alex arbuthneth minister and to bring ane direct ans<sup>r</sup> fra y<sup>e</sup> said M Alex in wreit quidder he will cum or not w<sup>t</sup> yis condition y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> said M Daud be not burdenit to ryde y<sup>e</sup> next tyme for y<sup>e</sup> said M Alex in cais he condescend to cum, The session thinks gude yis offer be intimit to provest bailzes & counsall.

Die mercurii vigesimo octavo Augusti anno lxxxiii.

The q<sup>lk</sup> day comperit M Daud Russell bailze quha being send from the counsall of town & session to aburdein to M Alex Arbuthneth m<sup>r</sup> principall of y<sup>e</sup> college of Aburdein, to desyr him to address him self to yis citie to be ordinar pasto<sup>r</sup> of St And<sup>s</sup> conforme to y<sup>e</sup> generall ordinance of y<sup>e</sup> generall assemble, and y<sup>e</sup> said M Alex<sup>s</sup> promis maid to y<sup>e</sup> town to y<sup>t</sup> effect and for y<sup>e</sup> said M Alex<sup>s</sup> ans<sup>r</sup> y<sup>t</sup>o The said M Daud for diligence producit y<sup>e</sup> said M Alex<sup>s</sup> ans<sup>r</sup> in wreit direct to y<sup>e</sup> session q<sup>r</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> tenor followis :

The comfort of y<sup>e</sup> holie Spreit for salutations. Belouit in y<sup>e</sup> Lord. efter my maist hartly commendations. pleis I resauit zo<sup>r</sup> letter requesting me to addres my self to y<sup>e</sup> charge in St And<sup>s</sup> according to y<sup>e</sup> ordinance of y<sup>e</sup> last assemble q<sup>lk</sup> trewlie I wald maist glaidlie obey if I wer vtherwayis fre, and of honestie and conscience my<sup>t</sup> weill leif yis towne, lykeas y<sup>e</sup> beraris of y<sup>r</sup> l<sup>r</sup> my lord of mrche his seruitor, and M Daud Russell hes omittit na diligence to do y<sup>r</sup> charge, nor na persuasions to move me to y<sup>e</sup> same effect ; bot as I haif writtin baith to my lord, and y<sup>e</sup> town of treuth y<sup>r</sup> be presentlie sic stoppis & impediments of my transporting, and just causis to retein me heir, and chieflie no sufficient provision maid for yis vniversite y<sup>t</sup> nather presentlie can I addres me to remove nor zit can I see how y<sup>e</sup> same may be hastellie done w<sup>t</sup>out great inconvenientis to yis cuintrie in generall and to me in particular. q<sup>lk</sup> I dowl not y<sup>e</sup> assemble hauing deebplie considerit al things will ressonable regard as zo<sup>r</sup> W. also will pa-

cientlie receve for my present excuis. referring forder to my writing send to my lord erle of marche, & y<sup>e</sup> town of St And<sup>s</sup> for I constantlie affirm y<sup>t</sup> if I may be free y<sup>r</sup> is na cumpanie among quhome I wald mair glaidlie trauell nor amang zou. as he knawis quho jugis y<sup>e</sup> secretis of hartis to quheis almytie protection I maist hartlie commit zou. from our college ye xii of august yo<sup>r</sup> bruther to be commandit in ye Lord

M Arbuthnot.

And forder y<sup>e</sup> said M David declarit y<sup>t</sup> at y<sup>e</sup> said M Alex<sup>n</sup> desyre, he hes purchest o<sup>r</sup> souveraine lords charge direct to y<sup>e</sup> said M Alex to charge him to adres himself heir w<sup>t</sup> all diligence q<sup>lk</sup> charge is direct to him als w<sup>t</sup> Walter Todrig messinger, and yis day aucht dayis w<sup>t</sup> goddis grace he sal schaw y<sup>e</sup> said charge & execution y<sup>r</sup>of, w<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> said M Alex<sup>n</sup> mynd & ans<sup>r</sup> y<sup>r</sup>in." (Record of the Kirk Session of St Andrews.)

The General Assembly which met at Glasgow in April, 1581, had appointed Arbuthnot to be minister of New Aberdeen. "Maister Alex<sup>r</sup> Arbuthnot transportit to ye ministrie of Abd<sup>n</sup> and ordanit to demitt y<sup>e</sup> principalitie of the Colledge in favours of Mr. Nicoll Dalgleisch." (Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 102, b.)

NOTE X. p. 198.

*Melville's Trial.*—The following is the testimonial given him by the university.

Seeing that the wonderfull providence of God has from all eternity ordeaned, and the Scriptures plainly forwarned, that of necessity scandals should arise, to the effect that his own Elect should be tryed, and our master Christ, of this point in speciall, hath made his Faithfull servants forseen, that they should be drauen Before the Tribunall seats of princes, and calumniously delated; as also the Experience of all Ages, from time to time till our dayes, has sealed this as an undoubted Truth: we tho<sup>t</sup> it nothing strange to hear our brother Mr. Androu Melvil provest of the New Colledge, calumniously traduced to your Majesty and H. Council, as a seditious subject, tending be his doctrine, to call your croun in question, and to steal the hearts of your M. subjects from your obedience, and to that effect charged this day, as we are credibly informed; yet, notwithstanding, being bound and obliged of y<sup>t</sup> Christian duety, whereby we ought to glorifie God, In giving faithfull Testimony to his Truth; and of that debtfull obedience, wherby every one of us is bound to your H. in particular, We RECTOR, Deans of Faculties, professors, Regents, and masters,

within the university of Sainet Andrewes, conveyned together in the fear of God, after calling upon his name, have thought it meet, to send furth this our testimony, be our commissioners Appointed for that effect Mr. Robert Bruce, Mr. Robert Wilkie \*, to your M. and H. council, wherby we will most Humbly crave, that your M. & H. council be fully perswaded and out of doubt, That whatsomever is laid to our Brothers charge, so long as he occupied the chair of verity, and place in schools within this city, as it is False and Fained of it self, so it is only Forged of the Devil and his instruments, to bring the Faithful servants of God in Contempt and Hatred of their supreme Magistrat, q<sup>ch</sup> God forbid. For as we wer continual and diligent Auditors of his Doctrine; so we bear him faithful record in God, and in conscience, that we heard nothing out of his mouth, neither in doctrine nor application, which tended not directly to the Glory of God, to the establishment of your M. croun, and to every one of our particular comforts and edification, And whensoever the occasion offered it self in special, to speak of your M. In God and in conscience as we have said, we heard him never but in Great Zeal, and Earnest Prayer recommend your M. estate, into his protection; exorting always all manner of subjects, to acknowledge their obedience to y<sup>e</sup> meanest magistrats, your H. subjects; as bearing a portion of that Image, for which they are called Gods on earth. Therfor we most humbly, in all Reverence, wold crave of your M. & H. Counsel, not to be slandered or offended, in this Incident; for as its one of the proper effects of the word of God, so its the ordinary way, whereby God brings about his oun work to the Glory of his oun name, to the comfort of the Godly, and to the closing of the blasphemous mouths of the supposts of Sathan, who are not ashamed in so manifest a light, so horribly to lye upon the Servant of God. and for verification hereof we have subscribed thir presents, with our Hands, and have ordaned our seal to be affixed thereto. At Saint Andrews the 8 day of February, 1584.

Mr James Wilkie Rector

Mr James Martine Dean of Faculty

Mr John Robertson Professor of Theology

\* In the accompts of the university for the year 1583, is the following article of discharge: "It. vi. lib. dat. M. Rob. Wilkie Commissario Univ<sup>rs</sup> in causa M. Andreæ Melvin."



Mr James Melvil Professor of Theology  
 Mr William Wallat Professor of the Mathematicks

Mr Robert Bruce	Mr Archibald Moncreif
Mr Thomas Buchanan	Mr Walter Abercrommie
Mr Robert Incho	Mr David Blyth
Mr David Monypennie	Mr Mark Ker
Mr Robert Wilkie	Mr Gawin Borthwick
Mr William Marche	Mr John Läckprevik
Mr William Cranston	Mr Andrew Inglis
Mr James Robertson	Mr David Inglis
Mr John Caldcleuch	Mr William Murrey
Mr John Malcomb	Mr James Aiton
Mr And Duncan	Mr Hector Monro
Mr David Martine	Mr James Bennet
Mr John Rutherford	

(Cald. III. pp. 304—306. Wodrow's Life of Andrew Melville,  
 MSS. vol. xiv. Bibl. Col. Glasg.)

NOTA Y. p. 203.

Apud Halieruidhous xviii<sup>o</sup> feri

Anno etc. lxxx<sup>ij</sup>o.

Sederunt

Colinus ergadie comes  
 Jacobus comes de arrane  
 David comes de craufurd  
 Joannes comes de Montrois  
 Joannes comes de mortoun  
 Jacobus comes de glencairne  
 Jacobus d<sup>ns</sup> de down  
 Thirlstane  
 Comendatarius de Culros  
 Caprintoun  
 Clicus reg<sup>i</sup>  
 Murdocairny  
 Prior de blantyir  
 Segy  
 M<sup>r</sup> of requelistis.

Mr. andro Meluille  
chargit to ward

Forsamekle as maister andro meluille provest of y<sup>e</sup> new colledge of Sanctandrois Being callit befor the kingis maiestie and lordis of his secreit counsale, And he comperand personalie wes inquirit vpoun certane thingis laid to his charge spokin be him in his sermon maid in y<sup>e</sup> kirk of Sanctandrois vpoun the day of Januar last bypast, offensiue and sklanderous to y<sup>e</sup> kingis maiestie, Eftir sindrie alledgeances maid be y<sup>e</sup> said M<sup>r</sup> andro for declyning of y<sup>e</sup> judgement and protestationis tending to y<sup>e</sup> same effect. At last being inquirit gif a minister speiking in pulpett that q<sup>lk</sup> salbe alledgit to be treasoun aucht to be tryit yairfoir befor y<sup>e</sup> king in y<sup>e</sup> first instance or not, Ansuerit yat althot y<sup>e</sup> speiche wer alledgit to be treasoun zit y<sup>e</sup> tryell in y<sup>e</sup> first instance aught not to be befor y<sup>e</sup> king bot befor y<sup>e</sup> kirk, Q<sup>u</sup>pon his hienes and his secreit counsale, ffindis yat his hienes and not y<sup>e</sup> kirk is Judge in y<sup>e</sup> first instance in caussis of tressoun q<sup>u</sup>sumeuir, And in respect of y<sup>e</sup> said maister androis proceedingis and behaveo<sup>r</sup> sa oft declyning his maiesteis judgment And Sua refusing to acknaledge his hienes royall estait and auct<sup>ie</sup>, As alsua to obiect aganis y<sup>e</sup> witnessis sūmond for the tryell of y<sup>e</sup> said mater, Clamyng to y<sup>e</sup> priuiledge of certane actis of parliament and secreit counsale concerning y<sup>e</sup> iurisdictionn of y<sup>e</sup> kirk Q<sup>u</sup>hilkis being productit red and considerit wer fund to contene na sic priuiledge nor libertie grantit to y<sup>e</sup> kirks to cognosce in materis of tressoun in the first instance as wes alle<sup>t</sup> be him Ansuering alsua maist prouddie irreuerentlie and contemptuouslie that y<sup>e</sup> lawis of God w<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> lawis and practik obseruit within yis cuntrie were peruertit and not obseruit in this cais, And last yat he had spokin all yat he had to say adherand to his former protestationis His maiestie w<sup>t</sup> auise of y<sup>e</sup> saidis lordis of his secreit counsale In yir respectis declaris y<sup>e</sup> said maister andro to be worthie to be cōmittit to ward in his hienes castell of blaknes and forder pvneist in his persoun and gudis at his hienes will, Thairfoir ordanis Lr<sup>es</sup> to be direct to y<sup>e</sup> mas<sup>r</sup> of counsale or vther officear of armes To pas and in his hienes Name and auct<sup>ie</sup> Cōmand and charge y<sup>e</sup> said maister andro meluille, To pas and entir his persoun in ward w<sup>tin</sup> y<sup>e</sup> said castell of blaknes, Thairin to remane vpoun his awin expensis during his hienes will And ay and quhill he be fred be his maiestie within ten houris nixteftir he be chargit y<sup>r</sup>to vnder the pane of rebelloun and putting of him to y<sup>e</sup> horne, and gif he failze y<sup>r</sup>in y<sup>e</sup> saidis ten houris being bypast to denūce him his maiesteis rebell and put him to y<sup>e</sup> horne, And to escheit and inbring etc. And that ane Lr<sup>e</sup> be direct for his ressait in ward, w<sup>tin</sup> y<sup>e</sup> said castell.

(Record of Privy Council.)

## NOTE AA. p. 268.

Presentation of the principalitie of y<sup>e</sup> new College of S<sup>t</sup> And.  
To M<sup>r</sup> Johne Robertsoun.

Ure soverane lord ordanis ane lre to be made vnder the previe seall  
bering y<sup>t</sup> forsamekle as his mat<sup>tie</sup> being surelie informite of the de-  
pairting out of the realme of Mr Andro Melven principall of y<sup>e</sup> new  
Colleige callit the pedagoge in Sanctandrois and of ane number of  
maisteris & regentis yairof quha hes passit out of this realme and in  
ane maner laift y<sup>e</sup> said Collaige voad & dissolat of all lairning doctrene  
and instructioun to y<sup>e</sup> grite preiudice of y<sup>e</sup> schoillis and decay of gud  
lres w<sup>thin</sup> this realme and his mat<sup>tie</sup> being of gud mynd and disposi-  
tione to fortefie mentene & aduance y<sup>e</sup> cure of lairning increse of gud  
letters and vertew w<sup>thin</sup> the realme and speciallie to sie y<sup>e</sup> said Col-  
laige and pedagoge restorit redintegrat and restablisit in godlie (*sic*)  
and exerceiss yairof Thairfoir and for y<sup>e</sup> effect fairsaid his mat<sup>tie</sup> hes  
w<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> aduyse of y<sup>e</sup> lord and consall<sup>r</sup> (*sic*) Patrik bischope of Sanct-  
androuz quhois predecessors foundit & erectit y<sup>e</sup> said Collaige to place  
qualefeit & lairnit men to be masteris yairin. And specialie Mr  
Johne robertsoun quhois remanent and actuall maister of auld to be  
principall Mr yairof to nominat present and admit Bursaris and pur-  
scoillars yairin to tak order for y<sup>e</sup> rentis fruttis dewteis profeittis em-  
olumentis of the said Collaige of y<sup>e</sup> crope & zeir of God 1<sup>m</sup> v<sup>e</sup> fourscoir  
four zeiris And sic lyk zeirle in tyme cuminge And to appoint sik  
personis as yai pliss for y<sup>e</sup> ingadering and inbringinge of the saidis  
rentis and fruitis for sustentat<sup>one</sup> of the saids M<sup>rs</sup> regents and bursars  
for instructing of y<sup>e</sup> youtheheid in gude literature and science and to  
do all & sundrie thingis y<sup>t</sup> belangs to the ry<sup>t</sup> and dew administracione  
of the said Collaige firm & stabill halding q<sup>t</sup>sumever the said bischope  
shall do yairin anent the premissis. Ordaninge the lordis of o<sup>r</sup> secret  
counseill and session to direct lres of horning vpone ane supt<sup>n</sup> chairge  
of ten dayis alanmarlie at y<sup>e</sup> instance of The said bischope Mr Johne  
robertsoun and sik vders as sail be appointit be y<sup>am</sup> for y<sup>e</sup> inbring-  
ing of y<sup>e</sup> saidis rentis of y<sup>e</sup> crope & zeir of God fairsaid and siclyk  
zeirle in tyme cuming to the effect abow<sup>er</sup>written discharging be yir  
p<sup>nts</sup> all vders economus intrumetters factors or vdir personis q<sup>t</sup>saueuer  
tittill gift or licence of factorie preceeding y<sup>e</sup> daif of yir p<sup>nts</sup> to intro-  
met or vplift ony of y<sup>e</sup> fruits rentis profits & emolumetis of y<sup>e</sup> said  
Collaige in maner abow<sup>er</sup>written y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> tenantis taxmen fewars farmon-  
ers and parochinars of the kirkis and landis annexit to the said Col-

laige reddellie ans<sup>r</sup> obay and mak thankfull paymēt of y<sup>e</sup> said rentis of y<sup>e</sup> said crop & zeir of God to yam yair factors and servitors alan-erlie and y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> said lrē be extendit &c. Subscriuit at hollyrudhous ye xxvi day of februar Anno d<sup>n</sup>i 1584 yeiris. (Register of Presentations to Benefices. Vol. ii. f. 124.)

NOTE BB. pp. 280, 282.

*Royal Charges to Melville.*—At Halyrudhouse the  
Act warding  
 Mr. Andrew Melvil. 26 day of May the year of God 1586 years, the Kings Maj. and Lords of Secret Council having consideration of the disordered estate of the Universitie of St Andrews, occasioned for the most part be the Dissention and Diversitie betwixt Patrick Bishop of St Andrews, and M<sup>r</sup>s Andrew and James Melvills Masters of the New Colledge within the same, their favourers and adherents, to the great slander of the Kirk, Division of the said Universitie, and decaying of Learning, and all virtuous exercise within the same, speciallie of theologie, whereof the said New Colledge was appointed to have been a seminarie within this Realme, albeit be occasion of the said Diversitie and variance, the ordinar profession thereof has been discontinued thir two years bygane to the great encouragement of the adversars of the true and Christian Religion, and allurement of a great number of Jesuits within the realme for the eversion thereof, and the erection again of Antichristian papistrie, condemned be God, and be his Hieness Lawes, for repressing of whose practices, and continuing of the Exercise of Theologie within the said Universitie in the mean time, his H. with advice foresaid, ordeans the said Mr Andrew to pass immediatelie to Angus, Merns, Perth, and other parts of the North where he may understand anie of the saids Jesuites to be, to conferr with them, and travell so far as in him lyes to reduce them to the true and Christian Religion presently professed and acknowledged be his Maj. and this whole realme, and in case he shall find them obstinate, to delate them to his Maj. and his Secret Council to be tane order with according to his H. Lawes and Acts of Parliament, enduring the which time and travell, his Hieness has dispensed, and be the tenour hereof dispenses with his ordinarie profession, and exercise within the said New Colledge, and appoints the same to vaikie untill his returning, Commanding in the mean time the said M<sup>r</sup> James to attend upon his own place for the instruction of the youth committed to his care and teaching, as he will answer to God and his H. and to the Intent, that the said exercise of Theologie may be continued within that Universitie, his Hieness with advice forsaid or-

deans and commands the said Bishop to teach weeklie two Lessons of Theologie within S. Salvators Colledge one upon Tuesday, and another upon Thursday everie week, beginning upon the first tuesday of Junie next, and so continuing ay and while his Maj. take further order thereanent and that but prejudice of his ordinar preaching unto a particular flock whereunto he is astricted be the late Conference, and that Letters be directed hereupon if need be, charging everie one of thesaid persons to do accordingly as they will answer to his Maj. upon their obedience at their uttermost charge and perril.

Extractum ex Libris Actorum Secreti Concilii per me Joannem Andro Clericum Deputatum ejusdem sub meis signo & subscriptione manualibus.

Joannes Andro.

(Bibl. Jurid. Edin. Rob. III. 6. 17. p. 219.)

The following charge taken from Calderwood, (MS. vol. iv. 8.) is corrected by another copy which Wodrow has inserted in his *Life of Andrew Melville*. (MSS. vol. xiv. Bibl. Col. Glasg.)

Principall and Masters of the New Colledge, we greet you well. For as much as we are informed certainly, That upon the Sunday, you assemble to your selves, a number both of burgh and land, and preaches to them in the English Tongue, and inveigh against the late Agreement, q<sup>th</sup> by the advice of the G. Assembly, was appointed for the Quietnes of the Kirk and Realm; q<sup>th</sup> by great inconveniencys may ensue: specially the Division of the members of the university, Gentlemen and Burgesses, who by y<sup>t</sup> means are abstracted from their parish kirk and pastors there; We willing that no such occasion should ensue, and for the wellfare and quietnes of the Toun and kirk there have By thir presents thot Good, That ye contean yourselves within the Bounds of your own vocation & calling, and in such languages as ye profess for the Instruction of the youth and that in no wise ye attempt Doctrine in English to y<sup>e</sup> people of the parish. we gave our commandment to Mr. Andreu Melvill returning to the Colledge, that he should not in any sort preach to the people; wherein if either ye or he contineu we will take further order in time coming, that our appointment be not so lightly regarded. Thus we committ you to God, From Hallyroodhous the 4. of Feb. 1586.

JAMES REX.

## NOTE CC. p. 285.

*Of James's conduct on the Execution of Queen Mary.*—Lord Hamilton having been employed by Courcelles, the French ambassador; to speak to James of his mother's danger; "The kings answer was, that the Queene, his mother, might well drink the ale and beere which her selfe had brewed; further that having bound her selfe to the Queene of England to doe nothing againste her, she ought to have kept her promise: notwithstandinge that he woulde no wayes faile in his dutie and naturall obligacione he ought her." To Sir George Douglas, who represented to him how discreditablie it would be to him to allow Elizabeth to put his mother to death, the king said that he knew "she bore him no more good will than she did the Queene of England—and that in truth it was meete for her to meddle with nothing but prayer and servinge of God." The Earl of Bothwell, being asked by the King what he should do if Elizabeth asked his consent to proceed against his mother, said, "yf he did suffer it he were worthie to be hanged the nexte daye after; whereat the King laughed and said, he would provid for that." (Courcelles to the King of France, Oct. 4, 1586.) "The nobilitie believe indeed that ther is some secrete intelligence betweene the Queene of Englande and the Kinge, which is the rather confirmed becaus the King's Secretare and Grawe were onlie made privie to the said Keith's instructions," &c. (Same to same, Nov. 30.) The Master of Gray's embassy confirms them in this opinion, "and that the Kinge of Scotts will not declare him selfe openly against her (Elizabeth) though his mother be put to death, vnlesse the Queene and the Statte would deprive him of his right to that crowne, which himselfe hath vttered to Earle Bothewill and Chevaliere Seaton." (Dec. 31.) Alexander Stewart, sent in the company of the ambassadors "with more secret charge," had said to Elizabeth, "were she even deade, yf the king at first shewed him selfe not contented therewith they might easily satisfy him in sending him doges and deare." On being informed of this, "the king was in marvilose collore and aware and protested before God that yf Steuard came he would hange him before he putt off his bootes, and yf the Queene medled with his mothers life, she should knowe he would follow somewhat else then dogges and deare." (Feb. 10.) Courcelles expresses his fears that if Mary's execution should happen, James would "digeste it as pattently as he hath done that which passed between the Queene of England and Alexander Stuard, whose excuse he hath well allowed, and vseth the man

as well as before." (Feb. 28.) On the arrival of the intelligence of Mary's execution, Courcelles "believeth in truth that the king is greatly afflicted with this accidente." (March 8.) But when Gray was banished, the Queen's death was not mentioned among the grounds, "lest he should have accused others." And when the Estates twice requested the King to revenge his mother's death, and offered their lives and fortunes in the cause, he merely "thanked them, and said he would open his intentions afterwards."—(June 6, and August—)

The above quotations are made from "Ane Extracte gathered out of Monsieur Courcelles Negociation in Scotland from 4th October 1586, to 28th September 1587:" in the possession of the Right Honourable the Marquis of Lothian. This is, I presume, the same with that in Cotton MSS. Calig. C. ix. 233. It is very singular that nearly a month should have elapsed before Mary's execution was known at Edinburgh. In the year 1585, when Stirling was taken by the banished lords, Elizabeth's ministers at London had intelligence of the fact within forty-eight hours after it happened.—(Melville's Diary, p. 165.)

NOTE DD. p. 302.

*Of Melville's Poem on the Coronation of Queen Anne of Denmark.*—The title of this poem is "ΣΤΕΦΑΝΙΣΚΙΟΝ. Ad Scotiæ Regem, habitum in Coronatione Reginæ. 17. Maij 1590. Per Andream Meluinum. Pro. 16. 13. Iustitia stabilis thronum Regis. Edinburgi Excubebat Robertus Walde graue An. Dom. 1590. Cum priuilegio Regali." 4to. five leaves. The poem is republished in *Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum*, tom. ii. pp. 71—76. On the back of the title-page of the original edition are the following lines, in which the author apologizes for the haste with which the poem was composed and published, and ingeniously alludes to the late voyage of the royal bridegroom.

Ad Regem.

Quod feci dixique tuo, Rex inclyte, iussu,  
Ecce iubes volitet docta per ora virum.  
Jussisti quod here, ego hodie: cras ibit in orbem:  
Et properatum adeo præcipitabis opus?  
Præcipita. per me ire licet quo auctore volasti  
Trans mare. Sors eadem fors erit: vrget amor.

James must have been pleased with the conceit expressed in the two concluding lines, and with the following address in the poem itself, which pays a flattering compliment to his gallantry in braving the winter sea, and to (what he was no less proud of) his poetical achievements :

Ferguso generate, poli certissima proles,  
 Quot reges tulit olim orbis, quot regna Britannus,  
 Tot regnis augende hæres, tot regibus orte,  
 Tot reges geniture olim fœlicibus astris,  
 Lætus in optatæ sanctis amplexibus Annæ :  
 Annæ, cuius amor te tot vada cerula mensum,  
 Tot scopulos, tot præruptas saxa ardua rupes,  
 Tantam Hyemem, tot fœta feris et inhospita tesqua  
 Raptavit, gelidisque morantem distulit oris,  
 Quam procul a patria, ac populo regnisque relictis  
 Tam propior Phœbo, Musis lucem annue nostris,  
 Dum canimus decus omne tuum, decus omne tuorum,  
 Rex IACOBE, decus Musarum et Apollinis ignes.

The theme of the *Stephaniskion* is the right government of a kingdom. After a description of the cares which environ a crown, and the small number of those who have swayed the sceptre with credit to themselves and benefit to their people, whose names, according to the saying of an Asiatic monarch,

Unà omnes inscribi uno posse annulo, et unâ  
 Includi gemma, fulvum quæ dividit aurum ;

the poet inquires into the causes which incite men to covet this dangerous eminence,—the secret impulse of nature, the innate desire of distinction, consciousness of talents or of birth, thirst for personal glory or family aggrandizement, patriotism, and that more exalted and sacred flame which seeks, by the faithful administration of a terrestrial kingdom, to obtain a celestial and unfading crown.

Vis arcana naturæ, et conscia fati  
 Semina :

Levat alta laborem  
 Gloria, celsi animi pennis sublimibus apta.



Quid studium humani generis? quid viuida virtus  
 Ignauæ impatiens umbræ atque ignobilis otii?

\* \* \* \* \*

Et prædulce decus patriæ: populi que Patrumque,  
 Vel bello quærenda salus, per mille pericla,  
 Mille neces, et morte ipsa quod durius usquam est?  
 Quo patriæ non raptet amor cœlestis, & aulæ  
 Ætheriæ, æterna regem quæ luce coronat?

The prince described is of course a patriot king; but the author does not maintain, (as Archbishop Adamson had accused him of doing,) that popular election is the only legitimate mode of investing a prince with the sceptre:

Seu lectus magno e populo, seu natus avito  
 In solio, vel lege nova, vel more vetusto,  
 Sortitus sceptrique decus regni que coronam.

He does not touch the harsh string of resistance to rulers who abuse their power, but he strongly reprobates, and condemns to the Stygian lake whence it ascended, the pestilential principle, that kings are born for themselves, and that their will is their law:

Stat regi, ut regni Domino, pro lege voluntas:  
 Talia dicta vomit diris e faucibus Orcus.

\* \* \* \* \*

Est pecus, est pejor pecude, est fera bellua, soli  
 Qui sibi se natum credit: qui non nisi in ipso  
 Cogitat imperium imperio: qui denique secum  
 Non putat ipse datum se civibus, at sibi cives.

The marriage of James, with its attendant solemnities, was celebrated by other poets besides Melville. Among these were Hercules Rollock, and Adrian Damman. "De Avgustissimo Jacobi 6. Scotorum Regis, & Annæ—conjugio: 13. Calend. Septemb. 1589 in Dania celebrato:—Epithalamium Ad eandem Annam, Serenissimam Scotorum Reginam. Hercule Rolloeo Scoto auctore. Edinburgi Excudebat Henricus Charteris. 1589." Ten leaves in 4to. "Schediasmata Hadr. Dammanis A Bisterveld Gandavensis—Edinburgi Excudebat Robertus Walde-græue. An. Dom. 1590." 1 in fours. This last collection consists of a Greek and

Latin poem on the marriage, and of Latin poems on the storm which drove the Queen to Norway, the King's voyage, the coronation, and the public entrance into Edinburgh. Prefixed to the work are encomiastic verses by Melville in Latin, and by Robert Pont in Latin and Greek. Damman gives a poetical description of the ceremony of the Coronation, in the course of which he praises the sermon preached by Galloway, and especially the prayer offered up by Bruce.

Conticuere iterum, versisque ad Sacra Ministris,  
 Brucius assurgit, vir nobilis, inque togati  
 Classe Ministerij nullo pietatis & æqui  
 Laudibus inferior, precibus Solemnis sanctis  
 Commendare Deo, Christumque in vota vocare  
 Incipit, & prudens animi, linguæque disertus.

He gives the following flattering description of Melville, and the part which he acted in the solemnity :

Altisonis stat pausa tubis: strepitusque silescit  
 Gaudia testantis populi: quum denique surgit  
 Nobilis eloquio, doctrinaque inclytus omni,  
 Divinâ imprimis: qui multus Apollinis antra,  
 Antra rosæ, violis, et anethi picta corymbis,  
 Lymphæ ubi limpidulo trepidant pede, rite frequentat,  
 Meluinus, grandique ad Regem carmine fatur  
 Ausonio, monitisque docet prudentibus artem  
 Imperij.

It appears from Damman's account, that Melville pronounced his poem immediately after the crown was placed on the Queen's head, and not before that ceremony was performed, as James Melville has stated in his Diary.—Damman was not a Dane, as is commonly supposed. He was born in the neighbourhood of Ghent, and had taught Humanity in that city. (Anton. Sanderus, *De Gandavensibvs Erudit. Fama Claris*, p. 13. Antv. 1624.) Sanderus says he went to Scotland at the invitation of Buchanan. "*Tandem a Georgio Buchanano ad Nobilem iuventutem politissimis litteris imbuendam accersitus in Scotiam fuit.*" Others say that he came to Scotland in the retinue of Queen Anne. He afterwards taught for some years as professor of Humanity in the College of Edinburgh, and acted as Resident of the States General at the court of Scotland. (Crawford's *Hist. of the Univ. of Edinburgh*, pp. 35, 40. *Epist. Eccles. et Theolog.* pp. 35—38. Amst. 1704.)

## Note EE. p. 321.

*Of Patronage and Popular Election.*—"Ordinarie vocation consisteth in Election, Examination, and Admission.—It appertaineth to the people, and to every severall Congregation to elect their Minister.—For altogether this is to be avoided, that any man be violently intruded or thrust in upon any congregation. But this libertie with all care must be reserved to every severall Church, to have their votes and suffrages in election of their ministers." (First Book of Discipline, head iv.) "Election is the chosing out of a person, or persons, most able, to the office that vakes, by the judgement of the Eldership, and consent of the Congregation, to which shall be the person, or persons appointed.—So that none be intruded upon any Congregation, either by the Prince, or any inferiour person, without lawfull election, and the consent of the people over whom the person is placed, as the practice of the Apostolical and Primitive Kirk, and good order craves. And because this order, which Gods word craves, cannot stand with patronages and presentation to benefices used in the Popes kirk, we desire all them that truely feare God, earnestly to consider, that for as much as the names of patronages and benefices together with the effect thereof have flowed from the Pope and corruption of the Canon law onely, in so farr as thereby any person was intruded or placed over kirkes having *Curam animarum*; and for as much as that manner of proceeding hath no ground in the word of God, but is contrary to the same and to the said liberty of Election, they ought not now to have place in this light of Reformation." (Second Book of Discipline, chap. 3. and 12.)

At the first General Assembly, "the kirk appointit the election of the minister, Elders and deacons to be in the publick Kirk, and the premonition to be vpon the sonday preceeding the day of the Election." (Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 2.) In June, 1562, it was concluded, "tuiching persones to be nominat to Kirks, that none be admitted without nomination of the people, and dew examination and admission of the Superintendent." (Keith, 313.) An act of Assembly, April, 1582, for correcting disorders produced by ambition, covetousness, and indirect dealing in entering to the ministry, concludes thus: "this act no wayes to be prejudiciall to laick patrones and y<sup>r</sup> presentatiouns, vnto y<sup>e</sup> tyme y<sup>e</sup> lawes be reformed according to the word of God." (Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 123, b.) On the annexation of the temporalities of the bishoprics to the crown, the patronages connected with them were disposed of to different noblemen and gentlemen. The General Assembly, in August, 1588, petitioned his Majesty against this; "inhibiting in y<sup>e</sup> meantyme all commissioners and

presbyteries y<sup>t</sup> they in no wayes give collatioun or admissioun to any persons presentit be y<sup>e</sup> saids new patrons as is above speit (specified) unto y<sup>e</sup> nixt general assemblie of y<sup>e</sup> Kirk." (Ib. f. 153, a.) Among the articles of an overture approved by the Assembly in May, 1596, was the following: "Thridlie because be presentatiouns many forcible are thrust in y<sup>e</sup> ministrie and vpoun congregatiouns y<sup>t</sup> utteris y<sup>a</sup>fter they were not callit be God, it wald be provydit y<sup>t</sup> none seik presentatiouns to benefices without advyce of y<sup>e</sup> presbyterie within y<sup>e</sup> bounds q<sup>r</sup> of pbrrie (sic) lvis, and if any doe in y<sup>e</sup> contrair they to be repellit as rei ambitus." (Ib. f. 178, a.)

Such was the law of the church. The practice appears to have varied somewhat in different places. Sometimes the General Assembly or the presbytery of the bounds nominated or recommended a minister, either of their own accord, or at the desire of the session or congregation. In some instances the election was by the session, or by the session and principal persons of the parish, and in others by the votes of the congregation at large. Sometimes the congregation elected the individual themselves; at other times they nominated electors from among themselves: and at other times they referred the choice to the presbytery. But in whatever way this was conducted, the general consent of the people was considered as requisite before proceeding to admission, and the church courts exerted themselves in obtaining the presentation for the person who was acceptable to the parish. On the appointment of a second minister to the town and parish of Haddington, the presbytery claimed the right of nomination, but Mr. James Carmichael having produced and read the act of Assembly 1562, they relinquished their claim. (Record of Presbytery of Haddington, August 15, 1601.)—The following is the account of the election of Robert Bruce to be minister of St. Andrews:

"Die xxi<sup>o</sup> mensis Maii anno lxxxix<sup>o</sup>."

The q<sup>u</sup><sup>th</sup> day being appointit to y<sup>e</sup> electioun of ane minister and fallow laborar w<sup>t</sup> M Robert Wilkie minister in y<sup>e</sup> functioun of y<sup>e</sup> ministrie in this congregation, fur<sup>t</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> nyne personis efter specifyt viz. nominat be y<sup>e</sup> town vniversite & landward parochenaris; to witt M<sup>r</sup> Robert Bruce Jhone Cauldcleuche W<sup>m</sup> Marche nominat be y<sup>e</sup> town, M<sup>r</sup> Johne Malcom alex monipenny & M Jhon Auchinlek nominat be y<sup>e</sup> universite, and M<sup>r</sup> Nichol Dalgies Jhone Dauidsoun & Robert Dury nominat be y<sup>e</sup> gentill men & paroshenaris upon land. Comperit ane ry<sup>t</sup> hono<sup>u</sup> man James Lermouth of Darsy provest of St And<sup>o</sup> M Wm Russel bailze Thomas Lentroun & Patrik Gutherie commissioners for y<sup>e</sup> town & Patrik Bonkill y<sup>e</sup> common clerk M James Wilkie rector of y<sup>e</sup> universite, M David monypenny deane of facultie, M Andrew Meluill Mr principall of y<sup>e</sup> new College, and M W<sup>m</sup>

Cranstoun maister in y<sup>e</sup> auld college commissioneris for y<sup>e</sup> said universite, and hon<sup>l</sup> men Sir George Douglas of Elenehill kny<sup>t</sup> James Wod of Lambeletham, James Hay chalmerlane of y<sup>e</sup> priore of St And<sup>os</sup> Patrik Dudingstoun portioner of Kincaill, Andrew Wod of Stray<sup>t</sup>wethy & M Alex Jarden of Smyddy grein commissioneris for y<sup>e</sup> gentillmen and paroshinaris vpoun land. Quha all w<sup>t</sup> ane voce efter earnest incalling on y<sup>e</sup> holy name of God, electit & chusit y<sup>e</sup> said Mr Robert Bruce as ane mau maist meet habill and quhalifyt minister and fallow laborar in y<sup>e</sup> ministrie w<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> said Mr Robert Wilkie And y<sup>e</sup> saidis haill commissioneris hes aggreit y<sup>e</sup> ilk ane of thame to witt, y<sup>e</sup> towne, universite & paroshenaris vpoun land send w<sup>t</sup> all diligens y<sup>r</sup> application in y<sup>e</sup> maist feruent maner to y<sup>e</sup> said M Robert Bruce to cum & occupy y<sup>e</sup> said office in & upon him conforme to y<sup>e</sup> said fre election." (Record of Kirk Session of St Andrews.) On the demission of Mr Robert Wilkie, who was appointed principal of St. Leonard's College, "The maist speciall of the haill parochin alaweill to land as burt being convenit, efter earnest incalling upon y<sup>e</sup> holy name of God, electit & chusit all w<sup>t</sup> ane voce w<sup>t</sup>out discrepans or variance Mr David Blak, quha wes specialie recommendit to thame be y<sup>e</sup> generall kyrk, pastor and minister to this congregation." (Ib. Nov. 11, 1590.)

Mr. Andrew Forester, minister of Corstorphin, having laid before the presbytery of Haddington a demission of the vicarage of Tranent by his father, and a presentation of it to himself by the king, confessed, after some interrogatories, "that bayt y<sup>e</sup> dismission and presentation foirsaid wer taken be his foirknowledge and accepted be his consent." The presbytery found that they could not proceed to collation and admission, because he had not obtained license of transportation, and "becaus be his foirsaid dealling he is fallin vnder danger of ane act of the generall assembly decerning sic persones as takes giftes of ony benefices of cure w<sup>t</sup>out foirknowledge and consent of the kirk to be Rei ambitus, of the q<sup>lk</sup> fault he is to be tryit befor his judge ordinarie." (Record of Presbytery of Haddington, Oct. 5, 1597.)

The parishioners of Aberlady requested the presbytery, "that ane lite myt be maid of qualifeit men and sent to teache in their paroche kirk upon severall sabboth dayes per vices, To the end y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Brethren of the presbyterie w<sup>t</sup> their consent myt out of that number chuse ane fittest for the rowme." Mr. Andrew Blackhall younger being put on the lect was suspected to be *reus ambitus*, and ordained to make his purgation. He satisfied the presbytery, after a strict examination, that he did not know of the presentation, "till it was past the seallis, and as yet had not acceptit of the same, nather yet was

myndit to accept of the same w<sup>out</sup> y<sup>e</sup> special advyse of the presbyterie." (Ib. from January 21, to March 17, 1602.) The presbytery "finds the said Mr Andro not to be Reus ambitus;" but still they came to the following resolution.

"At Hadingtoun y<sup>e</sup> 24 Martij 1602.

The q<sup>u</sup> day y<sup>e</sup> brethrene being to noiate and elect ane of the thrie y<sup>t</sup> was vpon y<sup>e</sup> Lite for aberladie to be placit as pastour thare, before y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> said mater suld be put in voting tho<sup>t</sup> meit y<sup>t</sup> Mr Andro Blakhal suld subscryve y<sup>e</sup> submissioun following.

I Mr Andro blakhal younger am content to put and presētlie puts y<sup>e</sup> gift and presentat<sup>u</sup>on of y<sup>e</sup> vicarsge of aberladie obtainit in my name in y<sup>e</sup> hands of y<sup>e</sup> presbyterie of hadingtoun to use it as thay think gude.

Sic Subscribitur

M A Blakhall."

A curious instance of procedure in the case of an unpopular presentee occurred in the same presbytery long after the introduction of episcopacy. In 1621, Michael Gilbert having obtained from the king a presentation to the parish of Northberwick, the presbytery appointed him to preach in that church, and the people to send commissioners to testify what is "ther lyking or approbation" of him. Commissioners, accordingly, attended next meeting of the presbytery, and reported "in name of the whole people that thei were not content w<sup>th</sup> Michael Gibbert, and that universallie y<sup>e</sup> people had no lyking of him and thawcht him not meit for that place." The presbytery having taken him on trials, "commends and allows his gift and holie affectioun, juges him able to enter in the ministrie q<sup>u</sup> it sall please God to call him w<sup>th</sup> consent of the congregatioun, but in respect of the place of Northberwick q<sup>u</sup>unto the generall assemblie haldin at Aberdein hea thawcht meit an man of singular gifts of authoritie and experience Also in respect of y<sup>e</sup> commissioners of the said parochin of Northberwick dissenting y<sup>r</sup>fra we thinke him not meit for y<sup>t</sup> place of Northberwick." It was ordained accordingly that a letter should be written to "My lord of St. androis bearing the presbytries judgement anent the said Michael Gilberts not qualification for northberwick." On the 5th of September, the presbytery received the following answer from the archbishop.

"Loving brithren I haue receaved yo<sup>r</sup> ltre tutching michael Gilbert q<sup>u</sup>by I perceave y<sup>t</sup> he is not be zow fond meit to be receavit in that kirk. but I must pray zow in yo<sup>r</sup> ansair to forbeir the consideration of y<sup>e</sup> kirk at leiat the mention of it in your writt because as I formarlie wrote if he be fund meit to be an minister I cannot shift but giue collatioun as I am requyrit. he is presentit to that kirk y<sup>r</sup>for di-

rectit to be tryit by zow. if he be not fund meit it exoners both zow & me To say so in generall that Michael Gilbert being presented be his Ma. for such a kirk and directed by me to be tryed by zow se find him not qualifeit And no more then this being I sall desyr zow speedilie to acquent me whom ze wold chuse with consent of the parochin and I sall doe the best I can to haue zow satisfieit for I shall be loith to admitt any whom ze by yo<sup>r</sup> judgement finds not qualifeit to anie of yo<sup>r</sup> kirks and certainlie wold we in planting haue this regard to consider y<sup>e</sup> qualities of men ther prudence as weil as y<sup>e</sup> teiching whom Chrysestome in some place requyris as necessarie in a pastor o<sup>r</sup> kirk wold be in an better estate & o<sup>r</sup> calling not so exposed to contempt as it is, but thes I leaue and for the present commits zow to God.

rests your assured brother

St. Andrewa."

The presbytery took the bishop's hint, and made an act declaring simply the presentee's "non sufficiencie," but after some delay, they received instructions from the bishop (Feb. 5, 1622.) to proceed with Gilbert's settlement; on which they came to this conclusion, "that in regard of the opposition made already by the peopill and in regard of the slander and contempt that may be given in publick to the ministrie urging the people to yield unto y<sup>t</sup> q<sup>l</sup>k no wayes they will do, that the mater be delayed to such opportunities as the arch B. may bespek." (Ib. from June 27, 1621, to February 5, 1622.) The presentee, however, ultimately prevailed; for on the roll of members of Presbytery for the year 1624 is "Michael Gilbert min<sup>r</sup> of Northbervick."

The consent of the people was signified in different ways. When it was proposed that John Davidson should be settled as minister of Saltpreston and the Pannis, "ane gritt multitude of the honest men of bayth the tounes foirsaida come and shew thair gude lyking of Mr Jhone and his doctrine to us of the presbyterie, (met at Tranent) desyring us maist earnestly w<sup>t</sup> any voyce," &c.—"Thanks returned to my lord of Newbottle," whose concurrence in the settlement had been requested by the presbytery. (Ib. Oct. 29—Dec. 24, 1595.) Oftener the consent of the congregation was reported to the presbytery by commissioners. The reader may be pleased to see the following copy of a formal written call, which is the earliest document of the kind that I have met with.

"Vnto zo<sup>r</sup> godlie W. of the presbyterie of hadingtoun humlie menis and schawis we zo<sup>r</sup> bretherne the pro<sup>m</sup> [parishioners] of Gullane w<sup>t</sup> the speciall consent of our pastor Mr thomas makghe that q<sup>r</sup>as it hes pleisit God in the age infirmitie and often diminis of our said pastor to offer occasion of support to him and to vs both be Mr

Andrew Makghe his sone of quhome we having had pruiſſ and tryall the twa zeiris bygane dois testifie his doctrine to be sound sensible & edifying his lyff and conversatioun to be honest and unrebukeable In respect q<sup>o</sup>f haueing gude expectatioun y<sup>t</sup> he salbe ane profitable instrument amangis vs for advancement of goddis glorie and our awin salvatioun Hes w<sup>t</sup> ane voyce thocht expedient maist ernistlie to requiest zo<sup>r</sup> wisdomes to proceed w<sup>t</sup> that diligence zo<sup>r</sup> w. sall think maist expedient to the admission and ordinatioun of the said Mr Andro to the office of ministerie within our congregatioun That being warrandit be y<sup>e</sup> outward calling and authoritie of the kirk he may be answerabill to our said expectatioun in the synceir preaching of goddis word ministring of y<sup>e</sup> sacraments discipline and all vther externall benefites of y<sup>e</sup> kirk according to the reull of the said word and commoun practise of the reformat kirk w<sup>in</sup> this cuntrey Unto quhome in the lord ane and all we promise fay<sup>t</sup>fullie our concurrence and obedience to the uttermoste according to o<sup>r</sup> dewtie And zo<sup>r</sup> godlie w. anaw<sup>r</sup> humilie we beseech

Sic Subcribitur

Ro<sup>t</sup> hepburne  
Alex<sup>r</sup> tod  
Mr Mark Hepburne  
George Dudgeoun  
Andro Robesone  
William Marshaell  
Jhone sinclair

Mr thomas Makghe minister  
of gullane  
George Ker  
P Levingtoun of Saltcottis  
Ro Congilton of that ilk  
Walter Ker  
George Halyburtoun  
Daniel broun  
Michael tod

James Sandilands  
George Walker  
George ssevcs  
Thomas Wilson

This is the mynd of the haill rest of the pro<sup>s</sup> y<sup>t</sup> cannot subscribe as thai haue testifyt be thair consent quhen thair voittis wes requyrit desyryng me notar vnderwritten to subscribe in thair names.

Ita est Joannes Craik notarius publicus ad premissa requisitus testem his meis signo et subscriptione manualibus."

(Record of Presbytery of Haddington, Dec. 7, 1697.)

NOTE FF. p. 334.

*Riot against Melville at St. Andrews.*—The summons raised at the instance of Mr Andrew Melvill principal of the New College of St Andrews, and Mr David Makgill of Nisbet his Majesty's advocate states, " that upon the fourt day of Junij instant, the said Mr andro being vnder medicine w<sup>in</sup> his chalmer of the said college, lippying



for nae violence—Mr David Methven &c. convocat and assemblit togidder be the ringing of the comoun bell the haill cete for the maist part of the said cite bodin in feir of weir with quhom they come to the said college and in maist barbarous and insolent manner brak up the back and soir yettis y<sup>e</sup> of clam the wallis of the same and preist violently to haue brokin up the said Mr androis chamer dur lyke as they brak up w<sup>t</sup> ane lang Jeist the bak stair of his said chamer vpon set purpois and deliberatioun to haue slayne and murderit him: within his said chamer quhilk they had not faillit to haue done were not be the providence of God and the mediatioun and travellis of the magratis of the said cite thair rage and fury wes sum quhat mitigat hyre: thay in deid remanit w<sup>th</sup> the said college and about the same the space of tua houris togidder suting the said Mr androis lyf uttering all the tyme many injurious speches saying we have now gottin the occasioun we lang socht let us tak it and mak us qwyte of this man that troublis vs ay"—The Lords ordays mayster William Russell and William Leirmont two of the Bailies of St Andrews to enter into ward in the Castle of Blacknes and remain there until they give up the names of the chief persons concerned in the riot,—and ordain the provost and members of Town Council to subscribe a Band obliging themselves and their Successors to preserve all the members of the universitie "harmeless and skay'less."—And they further decern that such of the rioters as had been summoned and have not appeared, shall be denounced rebels. (Record of Privy Council, 23 Junij 1591.)

The following extract from the Record of the Burgh Court of St. Andrews relates to the circumstance mentioned in the text as having given occasion to the riot. The act is crossed in the Record, and in the margin is the following official note: "Die vicesimo quarto mensis Augusti 1591. This Act deleit w<sup>t</sup> consent of y<sup>e</sup> prowtest baillies and counsell. J Bonde Scriba." The Act runs thus:

"Mr Andro Malwill & y<sup>e</sup> Town

Curia Burgalis civ. S<sup>t</sup>i Andree tenta in pratorio quiescent per honorabiles viros Thomam Lentroun Magistros Gulielmum Gek et Gulielmum Russell ballivos dictae civitatis, die Veneris quarto die Mensis Junii Anno Domini Millesimo quingentesimo nonagesimo primo.

The 24<sup>th</sup> day in presence of the baillies of this cite Mr Robert Weillke principal of St Leonardis College w<sup>th</sup> ye cite of St And<sup>e</sup> renunciand expreslie be y<sup>r</sup> presentis all privileges exemption and immunity or jurisdiction that he may pretend in y<sup>e</sup> contrair heirof. And submitting him in this calce to y<sup>e</sup> jurisdiction of the provest and baillies of y<sup>e</sup> cite of St And<sup>e</sup> alenerlie and w<sup>t</sup> him David Dalgleich and W<sup>m</sup> Muffat citineris of y<sup>e</sup> said cite Ar becum bound obliat and attitit for thaim y<sup>r</sup> airis & successoris conjunctlie and severallie for

Maister Andro Mailweill rector of y<sup>e</sup> Universitie of St And<sup>r</sup>. That in caice it may be fund and tryed y<sup>t</sup> Maister Johne Cauldclench ane of y<sup>e</sup> prencipall Maisteris of y<sup>e</sup> New College quha hes schott and deidlie woundit Davit Trumbull ane nythour of this citie w<sup>t</sup> ane arrow q<sup>r</sup>bye he is in danger of his lyfe to be anye tyme heirefter w<sup>th</sup>in y<sup>e</sup> boundis of y<sup>e</sup> said College in anye pairt they call present him to y<sup>e</sup> justice for underlying of our Soverane lordis lawis he being requyrit be y<sup>e</sup> pr<sup>te</sup> steward or y<sup>e</sup> ballies of y<sup>e</sup> said citie my lord being w<sup>th</sup>in y<sup>e</sup> college for y<sup>e</sup> tyme of his requisition And w<sup>th</sup>in y<sup>e</sup> boundis of y<sup>e</sup> said College for y<sup>e</sup> fact foirsaid under y<sup>e</sup> paines of ane thousand pounds to be aplyit to sic use as y<sup>e</sup> provost ballies & counsaill of y<sup>e</sup> said citie sall think expedient And y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> said Mr Andro rector foirsaid renunciand in lyk maner be thir prntes expresslie all privilege exemption & immunitie y<sup>t</sup> he may pretend in y<sup>e</sup> contrair in this caice stimerie sall be answerable to y<sup>e</sup> Stewart of regalie of St And<sup>r</sup> y<sup>e</sup> provost and baillies yrof as law will in caice he sall be querrellit heirefter be anie of y<sup>e</sup> said David Trumbullis friendis under paine foirsaid In presence of Mr Piter Rollock Bischope of Dunkell Mr Wm Maيره ane of y<sup>e</sup> regentis in St Leonardis College David Watsoun Mr David Russell deane of gild And Mr Patrick Mailuill ane of y<sup>e</sup> M<sup>rs</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> new Col. and Jhon Mair w<sup>t</sup> uthris diversa."

NOTE GG. p. 338.

*Constitution and procedure of Kirk-sessions.*—In speaking of the election of Elders and Deacons, we ought to keep in mind that formerly it was annual. At St. Andrews, when the time of election approached, the session made up a list of persons to be nominated for office during the ensuing year, and caused this to be read from the pulpit, accompanied with an intimation that the session would meet on a certain day to hear objections against the persons nominated, and to receive the names of any others that might be proposed as better qualified. The election succeeded to this. The Session sometimes appointed electors, and at other times they acted as electors themselves; in which last case the individuals to be chosen, if already in the session, were successively removed. (Record of Kirk Session of St. Andrews, Oct. 8 & 15, 1689; Jan. 12, 1590; and Nov. 28, 1593.) This was also the practice at Glasgow. (Extracts from Rec. of Kirk Sess. of Glasgow: Wodrow's Life of David Weemes, p. 28.) "Oct. 22, 1609. The Bishop compeared and intimat, the Synod had for sundry and good respects concluded and ordained that the Elders and Deacons in all Sessions shall hereafter be chosen by the ministers. The Session approves." (Ibid. p. 29.) At Edinburgh the election was popular. (Knox's Hist. of the Reformation, pp. 267, 268.) The

General Assembly, April, 1582, sanctioned this mode of election. "Concerning a generall ordour of the admissioun to y<sup>e</sup> office of elders referis it to the ordo<sup>r</sup> usit at Ed<sup>r</sup> q<sup>lk</sup> we approve." (Buik of the Univ. Kirk, f. 124, b.) In the parish of the Canongate, or Holyrud-house, the members of Session were chosen by the communicants at large. "Juley 28, 1565. The q<sup>lk</sup> day y<sup>e</sup> names of y<sup>e</sup> faithful that be in the lyt of y<sup>e</sup> Eldars was geiven wp be y<sup>e</sup> auld kirk to be proclamit be y<sup>e</sup> minister and to be chosen on Sondag come aucht dayea."—"The fourt day of August. The q<sup>lk</sup> day the efternone at y<sup>e</sup> sermone y<sup>e</sup> haill faytfull woted in chesing y<sup>e</sup> eldars and diacons."—"The 11th day of Aug<sup>t</sup>. The q<sup>lk</sup> day it is ordanit y<sup>e</sup> y<sup>e</sup> eldaris and deaconis as efter followis present thameself to y<sup>e</sup> kirk and set in y<sup>e</sup> place appontit for thame to resawe thair office. The q<sup>lk</sup> day it is ordanit y<sup>e</sup> y<sup>e</sup> minister warn oppenlie in y<sup>e</sup> pulpell all thois y<sup>e</sup> communicantes to y<sup>e</sup> puiis to come to y<sup>e</sup> tobo<sup>t</sup> on tisday y<sup>e</sup> nixt comes at 7 ho<sup>rs</sup> in y<sup>e</sup> morning to heir y<sup>e</sup> compts of y<sup>e</sup> deacons of thair resait and how it is destruybutit." (The Buik of the Kirk of Canagait.)

The statement made in the text respecting the civil punishments inflicted on delinquents is justified by the minutes of the last named Session. An unmarried woman having confessed her pregnancy, "Thairfoir the baillies assistane the assemblie of y<sup>e</sup> kirke ordanis hir for to depart furt of y<sup>e</sup> Gait within 48 hours heirefter, under y<sup>e</sup> pain of scharging and burning of y<sup>e</sup> scheike." (Buik of the Kirk of Canagait, Sept. 31, 1564.) In all instances in which any civil penalty is added this form of expression is used.—The following minute refers to the determining of controversies by *arbitration*. "Dec. 8, 1565. The q<sup>lk</sup> day it is ordanit the communion to be ministrat upon the 16th of y<sup>e</sup> instant also to advertise the communicants to be at the Saterdag exortation efter-nune. The q<sup>lk</sup> day it is ordanit that gif thair be onie persones have onye gruge of hatrit or malice or ony offense in his heart aganis his broder that they and ilk ane of them come on tisday in the morning at 8 ho<sup>rs</sup> to the Tolbo<sup>t</sup> where 4 of the Kirk shall be present to juge the offense and gif that it stands in them to reconseil the same y<sup>e</sup> said four to be Johne hart Johne short Jhone Mordo Johne Atchison Thomas hunter James Wilkie or ony four of thir." (Ibid. Dec. 8, 1565.) At Glasgow, the Session was accustomed to proceed in certain cases by way of *inquest*, or *trial by jury*. "Nov. 14, 1583. the Session appoint an inquest to be taken of men who are neither Elders nor Deacons for this year, out of the several parts of the town." This was done generally every year, and the practice is mentioned in the minutes as late as 1643. The inquest is ordinarily made up of 13 honest men, and in some cases women are employed. (Extracts, ut supra : pp. 42, 43.)

The following minute may be given as an illustration of the method of *privy censures* in sessions. "The q<sup>th</sup> day being appointit to try y<sup>e</sup> lyfe and conversation of y<sup>e</sup> haill memberis of y<sup>e</sup> Session, alsweill ministeris as elderis & deaconis, Mr David Blak minister being remouit, there is nathing objectit aganis him, bot all y<sup>e</sup> brethren praises God of him, and y<sup>t</sup> he may continew in his seit. M Robert Wallace being remouit, y<sup>e</sup> brethrein thankis God for him, bot it is desyrit of him y<sup>t</sup> he may be mair diligent & carefull over y<sup>e</sup> maneris of y<sup>e</sup> people, & in visiting of y<sup>e</sup> seik. M Rob<sup>t</sup> Zwill being remouit thair is nathing opponit aganis him in lyfe doctrein nor conversation, bot he is to be admonisit of multiplicatioun of wordis in his doctrine and y<sup>t</sup> his nottis be in few wordis y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> people may be mair edifyt. Mr Andrew Meluill being remouit, y<sup>r</sup> is nathing opponit aganis him, bot y<sup>e</sup> haill brethrein thankis God for him. M<sup>r</sup> David Monypenny being remouit y<sup>r</sup> is nathing opponit aganis him. M W<sup>m</sup> Welwod being remouit thair is nathing aganis him. y<sup>e</sup> Commis<sup>r</sup> remouit nathing opponit. David Murray & Duncan Balfour y<sup>r</sup> is nathing opponit except David Murray payis na thing to y<sup>e</sup> contributionis of y<sup>e</sup> p<sup>uir</sup>. And as to Duncan Balfour falt is fund w<sup>t</sup> him y<sup>t</sup> he being ane elder suld be in company w<sup>t</sup> thame y<sup>t</sup> brak vpe y<sup>e</sup> tolbut<sup>h</sup> dur & electit y<sup>e</sup> counsell tyme of sermone vpon Weddinsday. forder y<sup>e</sup> murthir of Pareis being laid to his charge becaus he wes in companie in y<sup>e</sup> kingis seruice at y<sup>t</sup> tyme. Quharof y<sup>e</sup> said Duncane purges him selfe in conscience as also of cuming w<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> kingis commissioun to stay y<sup>e</sup> doctrein in y<sup>e</sup> new college. M<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> [and] Henry Russell Andro Welwood being remouit, y<sup>r</sup> is falt fund with M<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> being (*sic*) suld pas to y<sup>e</sup> synodall assemblic w<sup>t</sup>out command of y<sup>e</sup> sessioun, and y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>r</sup> is ane sklander betwix M<sup>r</sup> Henry and his father, and y<sup>t</sup> Andrew Welwod mend his rasche speiking in y<sup>e</sup> sessioun. Mr W<sup>m</sup> Russel purgit him of y<sup>e</sup> thing laid to his charge; Andrew Welwod promisit to amend." (Record of Kirk Session of St. Andrews, March 2, 1596.)

## NOTE HH. p. 341.

*Presbyterial exercises, and trial of ministers.*—The following extracts illustrate the mode of procedure in the ordinary exercise. "It is ordanit that Mr. Ro<sup>t</sup> Rollock sall mak ane catalogue of the young men quhom he thinks meitt to exerceis, and that they quha sall come to the p<sup>br</sup>ie be sittaris, and no<sup>t</sup> standeris. Ordanis that all the brethren of the ministerie w<sup>thin</sup> this presbyterie sall convene in dew tyme, and sit at the burdes vnder the pains containit in y<sup>e</sup> actis of y<sup>e</sup> p<sup>br</sup>ie, and that nane be absent w<sup>t</sup>out ane lawfull excus, and that y<sup>e</sup> catalog be red, the absents markit, and the neist day censurit. Ordanis the first speikar sall occupy na langer tyme nor an ho<sup>r</sup>, the

second half an hour preciselie vnder the panes to be censured gif he transgress, and that the prayer before and after the exercise be schort." (Record of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, Nov. 8, 1597.) "Oct. 27, 1598. Maister David Robertsons maid y<sup>e</sup> exercise upone y<sup>e</sup> first cap. Essay v. 3. and was allowit and Mr. Peter Blackburne addit, quha followis nixt;" i. e. makes the exercise next week. (Record of Presbytery of Aberdeen.) "April 23, 1602. Johnne Mylne made the exercise—admonisit to studie diligentlie and to have a feling of that q<sup>th</sup> he delyverit.—" Nov. 26, 1602. Robert Forbes maid the exercise, quha was admonisit to eschew affectat language, and to utter his words w<sup>th</sup> gretar force." (Ibid.) "Dec. 8, 1616. Propheasie maid be Mr. Robt Backan<sup>g</sup>, 1 Cor. 14, v. 8. Followed Mr. George Greir in observations upon the text expounded. Doctrein judged, it was ordeined Mr. Andro Blackhall to expone in the first place, and Mr. Thomas Ballantyne to observe in the second place. 1 Cor. 14, v. 10." (Rec. of Presb. of Haddington.) "Dec. 4, 1593. Mr. Andro Polwart (and six other young men) put on the privie exercise." (Rec. of Presb. of Glasgow.) "Junij 18, 1600. A remembrance concerning the brethren that teiches in privat hous. Mr. Alex<sup>r</sup> greg heard this day in the gallery.—April 29, 1601. He is to be heard in Mr. James Carmichael's gallery." (Presb. of Haddington.) "May 8, 1608. Mr. James Carmichel younger heard privie exercises y<sup>e</sup> secund tyme upone Ephes. 6, 12. The Bre<sup>n</sup> praysit God for him, and appoyntit him to exercise priville the next in y<sup>e</sup> morning in y<sup>e</sup> galrie, prosecuting the samine text." (Ibid.) The General Assembly, in March, 1572-3, agreed, "That sick ministers as hes not q<sup>r</sup>weth to buy bookes may have bookes bought to y<sup>m</sup> be y<sup>e</sup> collector, and to allow y<sup>e</sup> pryces y<sup>r</sup>of in y<sup>r</sup> stipend." (Buik of Univ. Kirk, p. 56.) "Oct. 20, 1598. It is agreit by y<sup>e</sup> haile presbitrie thair be a collection gatherit amongis y<sup>e</sup> brethrein and of y<sup>e</sup> penaleiteis to by comentareis vpon y<sup>e</sup> text of y<sup>e</sup> exerciseis quhilk sall serue to everie ane of y<sup>e</sup> presbyterie quha hes nane in tym cumig.—Feb. 23, 1598. Item the said day the Moderator collected fra every minister of the presbyterie sex shillings aucht pennies for the bying of Molerus vpone Isay, and delyuerit the same to John roche collector to giff y<sup>e</sup> buikar." (Rec. of Presb. of Aberdeen.)

In October, 1581, the Provincial Synod of Lothian represented that they had agreed to have disputations in every presbytery on the articles in controversy with the papists, and moved that the General Assembly should appoint the form to be observed. The Assembly "thinks thir disputations good q<sup>n</sup> thay may be had." (Buik of Univ. Kirk, ff. 115, 116.) In March, 1597-8, it is appointed, "that a common heid of religioun be intreatit every moneth in ilk p<sup>trie</sup> both

by way of discourse and disputation." (Ibid. f. 191, b.) The way in which this exercise was conducted will appear from the following minutes. "Aprilis 7 1602. The q<sup>lk</sup> day y<sup>e</sup> common heid, De Authenticis Scripturarum editionibus et Versionibus Sacrisque Vernaculis, being first handillit publiclie before y<sup>e</sup> pepil be Mr. John Gibson, they disputit priuieilie. It was fund Quod sola hebraica editio Veteris Testamenti et Græca noui sit authentica editio Scripturæ et q<sup>d</sup> necessariū sit scripturas converti oñiaque sacra peragi publice corā populo in ecclesia vernaculo sermone. The next cōmoun heid De Autoritate Scripturæ was appointit to James Lamb to be entreattit, y<sup>e</sup> second Wednesday of May approaching." "Junij 2. The controvertit heid De autoritate S. Scripturæ being first publicly entreated before y<sup>e</sup> pepill be James Lamb his text being upon y<sup>e</sup> 2 epistill to Timothe 3 cap. 16 vers. Q<sup>lk</sup> being censurit—The Brethren per vices everie ane enterit in their disputation in Latine anent y<sup>e</sup> same mater according to y<sup>e</sup> ordinance of provincial assemblie." (Record of Presb. of Haddington.) The member who delivered the discourse on the common head sustained his thesis in the dispute against the other members of presbytery. (Ibid. July 4, 1602, and March 2, 1603.) "Jan. 6, 1603. The quhilk daye Mr Peter blackburne intreatit vpon the cōmoun heid of cōtroverzie De Ecclesia q<sup>in</sup> he did mervellous and y<sup>e</sup>foir wes cōmendit." (Rec. of Presb. of Aberdeen.)

The General Assembly which began on the 31st of March, 1589, appointed all the ministers of the church to be tried *de novo*, and nominated certain individuals as assistants to each presbytery in this work. (Act inserted in the Minutes of Presb. of Haddington, Nov. 5, 1589.) In consequence of this a rigid examination commenced, of which the following extracts will convey some idea. "Tryall be passages of Scripture and questions.—Mr Thomas Macghie. His passage of Scripture 46 Isai vnto y<sup>e</sup> 5 verse. exponit and collectit the same and y<sup>e</sup>fter removit. The Brethrene censurit. he is jugeit to be weill verst w<sup>t</sup> the Scriptures. Being examined vpon y<sup>e</sup> autoritie of the Scriptures he is tho<sup>t</sup> prompt to confound the enemies of the trewth w<sup>t</sup> the word of God and guid [doctrine]—28 Julij at Morning. James Gibsone. Haiffing teicheit publiklie at his appointit hour being [removed] he was judgeit to haue done weill. Zit he omittit what he promesit to defyne As also he repeated sundrie impertinent [words] bayth in doctrine & prayer Q<sup>r</sup>foir he is admonisit to be[ware of them.]—Thomas Greg. 28 Julij at eftirnoun. His passage of Scripture 3 to the Galathians vnto the 4 verse expounding y<sup>e</sup> samin was removit. He is jugeit to have done weill and it appeiris he is versed with y<sup>e</sup> Scripturis Being examinat as followis, It is not ane falt to Godis pepill to embrace the thingis that

God commandis Ergo it is not ane falt to the Christians to keep the Ceremoniall law : 2. Quhidder gif the pepil war justifeit by the Ceremonies of the Law : 3. Quhidder ar we justifeit be fayt or be warkis or partlie be warkis. 4. We cane not be justifeit be that alane q<sup>lk</sup> is never alane bot fayt is never allane thairfoir we cane not be justifeit be fayt allane: Of the q<sup>lks</sup> he onderstandis the argumentis & answerit y<sup>to</sup> howbeit he be not verst in logik.—*Jamis Rid.* 22 Octobris. *Jamis Rid* being hard mak privie exercise the bretheren juges he hes done better nor affoir. Zit he hes not cleirlye exponit the text q<sup>foir</sup> he is desyrit to be mair popular q<sup>lk</sup> he promeis to do God willing protesting that at his next heiring he may be hard at mair length to the effect he may collect his doctrene mair ample in the place q<sup>lk</sup> cane not be done in half ane hour to satisfie for the description of ane ample text.—

The sentences pronounoet.

*Mr. Jamis Carmichael* meit to be continewit in the ministrie in a bettir degrie.—*Mr. Johne Ker* unmeit to be continewit Thairfor deposes [him from the] function of the ministrie Zit the bretheren juges that [if he be] occupyit w<sup>t</sup> his book he may do better heir-after.—*Jamis Lamb* meit to be continewit in the ministrie in the lawest missour.—*Daniel Wallace* meit to be continewit in ane law missour.—*Jamis Rid* unmeit to be continewit Thairfoir [deposes him from the] function of the ministrie for the present.—*Thomas Gregge* meit to be continewit in ane gude degrie.—*Mr Thomas Maeghis* meit to be continewit in ane bettir degrie.—*Alexander forrester* meit to be continewit in sum reasonable degrie.—*James Gibsone* meit to be continewit in ane reasonable gude missour." (Rec. of Presb. of Haddington.)

NOTE II. p. 356.

*Extraordinary meeting of delegates from counties.*—The following curious deed throws light upon the nature and purposes of this meeting.

"At Glasgow the alleuint daye of October y<sup>e</sup> zeir of God i<sup>m</sup>yc fourescoir threttein zeires. The quhilk day the nobillmen baronis gentlemen ministeris comissioneris of y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>re</sup>fdomes and burrowis wndervrittin viz Lanerk renfrew and Dumbartane and of y<sup>e</sup> presbiterels yairof being convenit according to y<sup>e</sup> bande maid be our sourane lord & his estatis for mat<sup>e</sup>mente of y<sup>e</sup> trew religioun presettlie professait w<sup>in</sup> this realme and defens of his hienes persoun and estait and being informit of y<sup>e</sup> cōvening of y<sup>e</sup> nobillmē barrōnis gētlmē and ministeris of fyfe and wtheris partis of this realme for prosecuting of y<sup>e</sup> said bande And that y<sup>e</sup> sevintein daye of this instāt is appointtit to y<sup>e</sup> said convencing & that certane comissoneris of everie province

salbe direct to meit in y<sup>e</sup> bur<sup>t</sup> of Edinbur<sup>t</sup> for cōsulting and avysing wpoun y<sup>e</sup> following furt and prosecuting of y<sup>e</sup> said bande Heirfore y<sup>e</sup> saidis nobillmē barrōnis gētillmē & ministeris of y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>r</sup>ēfdomes foirsaidis hes maid constitut & ordanit & be thir presētes makis constitutes & ordanis the lard of calderwood, the lard of merchistoun, the gud man of Duchall, the lard of greinoh, M Ro<sup>t</sup> Lindsaye M Jon Hewesoun M Johne Haye M Johne Couper & M Patrik Scharp ministeris or ony thre of y<sup>e</sup> saidis ministeris thair lautfull and wndowtit cōmissioneris to cōvein & meit at Edinbur<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> daye foirsaid or ony wther daye or place appointit or to be appointit and thairto cōcurre w<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> cōmissioneris of y<sup>e</sup> wther s<sup>r</sup>ēfdomes & provinces of this realme thair to be assemblit and to give thair advyse and cōsale in sik causis cōcerning y<sup>e</sup> following furt of y<sup>e</sup> said bande & wtheris cōcerning y<sup>e</sup> glorie of God, the preseruatioun of his maiestie persoun and estait & cōmounweill of y<sup>e</sup> cōtrei as salbe treated and as salbe cōcludit to promise in y<sup>e</sup> names of y<sup>e</sup> nobillmē barrōnis & gētillmē of y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>r</sup>ēfdomes foirsaidis and burrowis w<sup>t</sup>in y<sup>e</sup> samy to follow furt the determinatiouns of y<sup>e</sup> cōmissioneris foirsaidis, q<sup>lk</sup> yaj and euerie ane of thame wpoun thair cōscience & hono<sup>r</sup> hes faitfullie promesit to do and performe. and y<sup>e</sup> said nobillmē & barronis & gētillmē & ministeris foirsaid hes gevin cōmand & power to y<sup>e</sup> clerk of y<sup>e</sup> kirk & presbitrie of Glasgw to insert thir presentis in y<sup>e</sup> buikes of y<sup>e</sup> buikis of y<sup>e</sup> said presbitrie and to extract y<sup>e</sup> samy y<sup>r</sup>furt subscrivit be him for y as gif thaj had subscrivit y<sup>e</sup> samy yame selfis." (Record of Presbytery of Glasgw.)

## NOTE KK. p. 400.

*Black's Process.*—"Anent the charge gevin be vertew of our souseane Lordis Lrēs to Maister dauid blak minister at Sanctandris to haue compeirit personalie befor the Kingis maiestie and lordis of secrete counsaill this day viz the xviii day of nouember instāt, To haue ans writ to sic thingis as sould haue bene inquirit of him at his cwm-ing Tuicheing certane vndecent and vncumelie speiches vtterit be him in diuers his sermonis maid in Sanctandris, vnder the pain of Rebellioun and putting of him to y<sup>e</sup> horne w<sup>th</sup> certificāne to him and he failzeit Lrēs sould be direct simp<sup>r</sup> to putt him thairto, Lyke as at mair Lenth is cōtenit in y<sup>e</sup> saidis Lrēs executiounis and indorsationis thairof. Q<sup>lk</sup> being callit, and the said maister dauid compeir and personalie, Declairit that albeit he nicht obiect aganis the summondis as being direct super inquirendis Contrair the act of parliament, na particulier caus specifeit thairin, zit he wald tak him to the ordinair remeid appointit be the Lawis and Libertie of the Kirk, allegcing that nane sould be ingeis to materis deliuerit in pulpett, bot



the precheouris and ministeris of the worde, And thairfore desiryt to be Remittit to his iuge ordinar, Quhairupoun being inquiryt be his maiestie to quhat iugement he declynit, ans writ to the presbiterie quhair the doctrine was teicheit quhair his maiestie could be a complenit in the first instance as a Christeane and member of the kirk, and not as a King. Allegeit be his Maiestie, That this mater is altogether ciuile and not spirituall, And forder that the generalitie of the summondis is restrictit to this particular expressit in this vther Lre heirwith producit be the inglis ambassadour, Being inquiryt, quiddir gif his maiestie micht be iuge in materis of tressoun as the kirk is iuge in materis of heresie, Grantis, zit allegeit That the wordis deliuerit in pulpett, albeit allegeit to be tressounable, should be tryit in prima instancia be the Kirk as onlie iuge competent, To the contrair quhairof The act of parliament maid in the lxxxij zeir of god was allegeit, To the dirogatioun of the quhilk act Maister dauid producit ane vther act in the parliament haldin at edinburgh in the lxxxij zeir of god, Being inquiryt quhat warrand thay had oute of the worde of God, for materis spokin aganis a christeane magrat. Allegeit quateuir is spokin to be spirituall, And thairfore mon be reulit be the worde of god, and for this purpois allegeit the first of Timothie Continewit to the Last of nouember instant, And M<sup>r</sup> dauid ordanit To remane heir in the meantyme." (Record of Privy Council, Nov. 18, 1596.)

The Interloquitor, declaring the Lords of Council judges competent of all the crimes libelled in the new and enlarged summons, was passed on the last day of November. And on the 2d of December, a Decreet was passed finding Black guilty of all the articles libelled, and ordaining him to confine himself beyond the North Water till his Majesty should determine on his farther punishment. (Record of Privy Council.)

#### END OF VOLUME FIRST.













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